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# LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

## I. GENERAL

A.R. = Anno Hijrac (A.D. 622).  
 Ak. = Akkadian.  
 Alex. = Alexandrian.  
 Amer. = American.  
 Apoc. = Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.  
 Apocr. = Apocrypha.  
 Aq. = Aquila.  
 Arab. = Arabic.  
 Aram. = Aramaic.  
 Arm. = Armenian.  
 Ary. = Aryan.  
 As. = Asiatic.  
 Assyr. = Assyrian.  
 AT = Altes Testament.  
 AV = Authorized Version.  
 AVm = Authorized Version margin.  
 A.Y. = Anno Yazdagird (A.D. 639).  
 Bab. = Babylonian.  
 c. = *circa*, about.  
 Can. = Canaanite.  
 cf. = compare.  
 ct. = contrast.  
 D = Deuteronomist.  
 E = Elohist.  
 edd. = editions or editors.  
 Eryp. = Egyptian.  
 Eng. = English.  
 Eth. = Ethiopic.  
 EV, EVV = English Version, Versions.  
 f. = and following verse or page.  
 ff. = and following verses or pages.  
 Fr. = French.  
 Germ. = German.  
 Gr. = Greek.  
 H = Law of Holiness.  
 Heb. = Hebrew.  
 Hel. = Hellenistic.  
 Hex. = Hexateuch.  
 Himy. = Himyaritic.  
 Ir. = Irish.  
 Iran. = Iranian.

Isr. = Israelite.  
 J = Jahwist.  
 J" = Jehovah.  
 Jerus. = Jerusalem.  
 Jos. = Josephus.  
 LXX = Septuagint.  
 Min. = Minean.  
 MSS = Manuscripts.  
 MT = Massoretic Text.  
 n. = note.  
 NT = New Testament.  
 Onk. = Onkelos.  
 OT = Old Testament.  
 P = Priestly Narrative.  
 Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.  
 Pent. = Pentateuch.  
 Pers. = Persian.  
 Phil. = Philistine.  
 Phoen. = Phœnician.  
 Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.  
 R = Redactor.  
 Rom. = Roman.  
 RV = Revised Version.  
 RVm = Revised Version margin.  
 Sab. = Sabæan.  
 Sam. = Samaritan.  
 Sem. = Semitic.  
 Sept. = Septuagint.  
 Sin. = Sinaitic.  
 Skr. = Sanskrit.  
 Symm. = Symmachus.  
 Syr. = Syriac.  
 t. (following a number) = times.  
 Talm. = Talmud.  
 Targ. = Targum.  
 Theod. = Theodotion.  
 TR = Textus Receptus, Received Text.  
 tr. = translated or translation.  
 VSS = Versions.  
 Vulg., Vg. = Vulgate.  
 WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

## II. BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

### Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.	Ca = Canticles.
Ex = Exodus.	Is = Isaiah.
Lv = Leviticus.	Jer = Jeremiah.
Nu = Numbers.	La = Lamentations.
Dt = Deuteronomy.	Ezk = Ezekiel.
Jos = Joshua.	Dn = Daniel.
Jg = Judges.	Hos = Hosea.
Ru = Ruth.	Jl = Joel.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samnel.	Am = Amos.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.	Ob = Obadiah.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2	Jon = Jonah.
Chronicles.	Mic = Micah.
Ezr = Ezra.	Nah = Nahum.
Neh = Nehemiah.	Hab = Habakkuk.
Est = Esther.	Zeph = Zephaniah.
Job.	Hag = Haggai.
Ps = Psalms.	Zec = Zechariah.
Pr = Proverbs.	Mal = Malachi.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.	

### Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2	To = Tobit.
Esdras.	Jth = Judith.

Ad. Est = Additions to	Sus = Susanna.
Esther.	Bel = Bel and the
Wis = Wisdom.	Dragon.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesi-	Pr. Man = Prayer of
asticus.	Manasses.
Bar = Baruch.	1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2
Three = Song of the Three	Maccabees.
Children.	

### New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.	1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2
Mk = Mark.	Thessalonians.
Lk = Luke.	1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2
Jn = John.	Timothy.
Ac = Acts.	Tit = Titus.
Ro = Romans.	Philem = Philemon.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2	He = Hebrews.
Corinthians.	Ja = James.
Gal = Galatians.	1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
Eph = Ephesians.	1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2,
Ph = Philippians.	and 3 John.
Col = Colossians.	Jude.
	Rev = Revelation.

## III. FOR THE LITERATURE

1. The following authors' names, when unaccompanied by the title of a book, stand for the works in the list below.

- Baethgen = *Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch.*, 1888.  
 Baldwin = *Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology*, 3 vols. 1901-05.  
 Barth = *Nominalbildung in den sem. Sprachen*, 2 vols. 1889, 1891 (<sup>2</sup>1894).  
 Benzinger = *Heb. Archäologie*, 1894.  
 Brockelmann = *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, 2 vols. 1897-1902.  
 Bruns-Sachau = *Syr.-Röm. Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*, 1880.  
 Budge = *Gods of the Egyptians*, 2 vols. 1903.  
 Daremberg-Saglio = *Dict. des ant. grec. et rom.*, 1886-90.  
 De la Saussaye = *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.*<sup>3</sup>, 1905.  
 Denzinger = *Enchiridion Symbolorum*<sup>11</sup>, Freiburg im Br., 1911.  
 Deussen = *Die Philos. d. Upanishads*, 1899 [Eng. tr., 1906].  
 Doughty = *Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. 1888.  
 Grimm = *Deutsche Mythologie*<sup>4</sup>, 3 vols. 1875-78, Eng. tr. *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols. 1882-88.  
 Hamburger = *Realencyclopädie für Bibel u. Talmud*, i. 1870 (<sup>2</sup>1892), ii. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.  
 Holder = *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, 1891 ff.  
 Holtzmann-Zöpfel = *Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirchenwesen*<sup>2</sup>, 1895.  
 Howitt = *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, 1904.  
 Jubainville = *Cours de Litt. celtique*, i.-xii., 1883 ff.  
 Lagrange = *Études sur les religions sémitiques*<sup>2</sup>, 1904.  
 Lane = *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1863 ff.  
 Lang = *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*<sup>2</sup>, 2 vols. 1899.  
 Lepsius = *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, 1849-60.  
 Lichtenberger = *Encyc. des sciences religieuses*, 1876.  
 Lidzbarski = *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898.  
 McCurdy = *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 2 vols. 1894-96.  
 Muir = *Orig. Sanscrit Texts*, 1858-72.  
 Müss-Arnolt = *A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language*, 1894 ff.  
 Nowack = *Lehrbuch d. heb. Archäologie*, 2 vols. 1894.  
 Pauly-Wissowa = *Realencyc. der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1894 ff.  
 Perrot-Chipiez = *Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 1881 ff.  
 Preller = *Römische Mythologie*, 1858.  
 Réville = *Religion des peuples non-civilisés*, 1883.  
 Riehm = *Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums*<sup>2</sup>, 1893-94.  
 Robinson = *Biblical Researches in Palestine*<sup>2</sup>, 1856.  
 Roscher = *Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, 1884 ff.  
 Schafl-Herzog = *The New Schafl-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1908 ff.  
 Schenkel = *Bibel-Lexicon*, 5 vols. 1869-75.  
 Schürer = *GJV*<sup>3</sup>, 3 vols. 1898-1901 [*HJP*, 5 vols. 1890 ff.].  
 Schwally = *Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892.  
 Siegfried-Stade = *Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT*, 1893.  
 Smend = *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgesch.*<sup>2</sup>, 1899.  
 Smith (G. A.) = *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*<sup>4</sup>, 1897.  
 Smith (W. R.) = *Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup>, 1894.  
 Spencer (H.) = *Principles of Sociology*<sup>3</sup>, 1885-96.  
 Spencer-Gillen<sup>a</sup> = *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899.  
 Spencer-Gillen<sup>b</sup> = *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.  
 Swete = *The OT in Greek*, 3 vols. 1893 ff.  
 Tylor (E. B.) = *Primitive Culture*<sup>3</sup>, 1891 [<sup>4</sup>1903].  
 Ueberweg = *Hist. of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., 2 vols. 1872-74.  
 Weber = *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften*<sup>2</sup>, 1897.  
 Wiedemann = *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, *Religion of the Anc. Egyptians*, 1897].  
 Wilkinson = *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3 vols. 1878.  
 Zunz = *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*<sup>2</sup>, 1892.

2. Periodicals, Dictionaries, Encyclopædias, and other standard works frequently cited.

- AA = Archiv für Anthropologie.  
 AAOJ = American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.  
 ABAW = Abhandlungen d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.  
 AE = Archiv für Ethnographie.  
 AEG = Assyr. and Eng. Glossary (Johns Hopkins University).  
 AGG = Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
 AGPh = Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.  
 AHR = American Historical Review.  
 AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).  
 AJPh = American Journal of Philology.  
 AJP = American Journal of Psychology.  
 AJRPE = American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.  
 AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.  
 AJTh = American Journal of Theology.  
 AMG = Annales du Musée Guimet.  
 APES = American Palestine Exploration Society.  
 APF = Archiv für Papyrussforschung.  
 AR = Anthropological Review.  
 ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.  
 AS = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).  
 ASG = Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
 ASoc = L'Année Sociologique.  
 ASWI = Archaeological Survey of W. India.  
 AZ = Allgemeine Zeitung.  
 BAG = Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.  
 BASS = Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissenschaft (edd. Delitzsch and Haupt).  
 BCH = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.  
 BE = Bureau of Ethnology.  
 BG = Bombay Gazetteer.  
 BJ = Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).  
 BL = Bampton Lectures.  
 BLE = Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.  
 BOR = Bab. and Oriental Record.  
 BS = Bibliotheca Sacra.  
 BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens.  
 BSAA = Bulletin de la Soc. archéologique à Alexandrie.  
 BSAL = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Lyon.  
 BSAP = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie, etc., Paris.  
 BSG = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.  
 BTS = Buddhist Text Society.  
 BW = Biblical World.  
 BZ = Biblische Zeitschrift.

- CAIBL*=Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.  
*CBTS*=Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.  
*CE*=Catholic Encyclopedia.  
*CF*=Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).  
*CGS*=Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).  
*CI*=Census of India.  
*CIA*=Corpus Inscript. Atticarum.  
*CIE*=Corpus Inscript. Etruscarum.  
*CIG*=Corpus Inscript. Graecarum.  
*CIL*=Corpus Inscript. Latinarum.  
*CIS*=Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum.  
*COT*=Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng. tr. of *KAT*<sup>2</sup>; see below].  
*CR*=Contemporary Review.  
*CeR*=Celtic Review.  
*CLR*=Classical Review.  
*CQR*=Church Quarterly Review.  
*CSEL*=Corpus Script. Eccl. Latinorum.  
*DAC*=Dict. of the Apostolic Church.  
*DACL*=Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cabrol).  
*DB*=Dict. of the Bible.  
*DCA*=Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith-Cheetham).  
*DCB*=Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-Wace).  
*DCG*=Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.  
*DI*=Dict. of Islam (Hughes).  
*DNB*=Dict. of National Biography.  
*DPhP*=Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology.  
*DWA W*=Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften.  
*EBi*=Encyclopædia Biblica.  
*EBR*=Encyclopædia Britannica.  
*EEFM*=Egyp. Explor. Fund Memoirs.  
*EI*=Encyclopædia of Islâm.  
*ERE*=The present work.  
*Exp*=Expositor.  
*ExpT*=Expository Times.  
*FHG*=Fragmenta Historiarum Græcorum (coll. C. Müller, Paris, 1835).  
*FL*=Folklore.  
*FLJ*=Folklore Journal.  
*FLR*=Folklore Record.  
*GA*=Gazette Archéologique.  
*GB*=Golden Bough (Frazer).  
*GGA*=Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.  
*GGN*=Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten (Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen).  
*GIAP*=Grundriss d. Indo-Arischen Philologie.  
*GrP*=Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie.  
*GJV*=Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes.  
*GVI*=Geschichte des Volkes Israel.  
*HAI*=Handbook of American Indians.  
*HDB*=Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.  
*HE*=Historia Ecclesiastica.  
*HGHL*=Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).  
*HI*=History of Israel.  
*HJ*=Hibbert Journal.  
*HJP*=History of the Jewish People.  
*HL*=Hibbert Lectures.  
*HN*=Historia Naturalis (Pliny).  
*HWB*=Handwörterbuch.  
*IA*=Indian Antiquary.  
*ICC*=International Critical Commentary.  
*ICO*=International Congress of Orientalists.  
*ICR*=Indian Census Report.  
*IG*=Inscript. Græcæ (publ. under auspices of Berlin Academy, 1873 ff.).  
*IGA*=Inscript. Græcæ Antiquissimæ.  
*IGI*=Imperial Gazetteer of India<sup>2</sup> (1885); new edition (1908-09).  
*IJE*=International Journal of Ethics.  
*ITL*=International Theological Library.  
*JA*=Journal Asiatique.  
*JAFL*=Journal of American Folklore.  
*JAI*=Journal of the Anthropological Institute.  
*JAOS*=Journal of the American Oriental Society.  
*JASB*=Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.  
*JASBe*=Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal.  
*JBL*=Journal of Biblical Literature.  
*JBTS*=Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.  
*JD*=Journal des Débats.  
*JDTh*=Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie.  
*JE*=Jewish Encyclopedia.  
*JGOS*=Journal of the German Oriental Society.  
*JHC*=Johns Hopkins University Circulars.  
*JHS*=Journal of Hellenic Studies.  
*JLZ*=Jenäer Literaturzeitung.  
*JPh*=Journal of Philology.  
*JPTTh*=Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie.  
*JPTS*=Journal of the Pali Text Society.  
*JQR*=Jewish Quarterly Review.  
*JRAI*=Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.  
*JRAS*=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
*JRASBo*=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.  
*JRASC*=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch.  
*JRASK*=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korean branch.  
*JRGS*=Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.  
*JRS*=Journal of Roman Studies.  
*JThSt*=Journal of Theological Studies.  
*KAT*<sup>2</sup>=Die Keilinschriften und das AT<sup>2</sup> (Schrader), 1833.  
*KAT*<sup>3</sup>=Zimmern-Winckler's ed. of the preceding (really a totally distinct work), 1903.  
*KB* or *K/B*=Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Schrader), 1889 ff.  
*KGF*=Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsforschung, 1878.  
*LCEI*=Literarisches Centralblatt.  
*LOPh*=Literaturblatt für Oriental. Philologie.  
*LOT*=Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver).  
*LP*=Legend of Perseus (Hartland).  
*LSSt*=Leipziger sem. Studien.  
*M*=Mélusine.  
*MAIBL*=Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.  
*MBAW*=Monatsbericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.  
*MGH*=Monumenta Germaniæ Historica (Pertz).  
*MGJV*=Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.  
*MGWJ*=Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.  
*MI*=Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermarck).  
*MNDPV*=Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.  
*MR*=Methodist Review.  
*MVG*=Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.  
*MWJ*=Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.  
*NBAC*=Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana.  
*NC*=Nineteenth Century.  
*NHWB*=Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.  
*NINQ*=North Indian Notes and Queries.  
*NKZ*=Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.  
*NQ*=Notes and Queries.  
*NR*=Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).  
*NTZG*=Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.  
*OED*=Oxford English Dictionary.  
*OLZ*=Orientalische Literaturzeitung.  
*OS*=Onomastica Sacra.  
*OTJC*=Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).  
*OTP*=Oriental Translation Fund Publications.  
*PAOS*=Proceedings of American Oriental Society.

<i>PASB</i> = Proceedings of the Anthropological Soc. of Bombay.	<i>SBAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PB</i> = Polychrome Bible (English).	<i>SBB</i> = Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
<i>PBE</i> = Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.	<i>SBE</i> = Sacred Books of the East.
<i>PC</i> = Primitive Culture (Tylor).	<i>SBOT</i> = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
<i>PEFM</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Memoirs.	<i>SDB</i> = Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
<i>PEFSt</i> = Palestine Exploration Fund Statement.	<i>SK</i> = Studien und Kritiken.
<i>PG</i> = Patrologia Græca (Migne).	<i>SMA</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akademie.
<i>PJB</i> = Preussische Jahrbücher.	<i>SSGW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PL</i> = Patrologia Latina (Migne).	<i>SWAW</i> = Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
<i>PNQ</i> = Punjab Notes and Queries.	<i>TAPA</i> = Transactions of American Philological Association.
<i>PR</i> = Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).	<i>TASJ</i> = Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
<i>PRE</i> <sup>3</sup> = Prot. Realencyclopädie (Herzog-Hauck).	<i>TC</i> = Tribes and Castes.
<i>PRR</i> = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.	<i>TES</i> = Transactions of Ethnological Society.
<i>PRS</i> = Proceedings of the Royal Society.	<i>ThLZ</i> = Theologische Literaturzeitung.
<i>PRSE</i> = Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.	<i>ThT</i> = Theol. Tijdschrift.
<i>PSBA</i> = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.	<i>TRHS</i> = Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
<i>PTS</i> = Pali Text Society.	<i>TRSE</i> = Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
<i>RA</i> = Revue Archéologique.	<i>TS</i> = Texts and Studies.
<i>RAnth</i> = Revue d'Anthropologie.	<i>TSBA</i> = Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology.
<i>RAS</i> = Royal Asiatic Society.	<i>TU</i> = Texte und Untersuchungen.
<i>RAssyr</i> = Revue d'Assyriologie.	<i>WAI</i> = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
<i>RB</i> = Revue Biblique.	<i>WZKM</i> = Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes.
<i>RBEW</i> = Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).	<i>ZA</i> = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
<i>RC</i> = Revue Critique.	<i>ZA</i> = Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache u. Altertumswissenschaft.
<i>RCel</i> = Revue Celtique.	<i>ZATW</i> = Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RCh</i> = Revue Chrétienne.	<i>ZCK</i> = Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
<i>RDM</i> = Revue des Deux Mondes.	<i>ZCP</i> = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
<i>RE</i> = Realencyclopädie.	<i>ZDA</i> = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
<i>REG</i> = Revue des Études Grecques.	<i>ZDMG</i> = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
<i>REG</i> = Revue Égyptologique.	<i>ZDPV</i> = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
<i>REJ</i> = Revue des Études Juives.	<i>ZE</i> = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
<i>REth</i> = Revue d'Ethnographie.	<i>ZKF</i> = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
<i>RGG</i> = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.	<i>ZKG</i> = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
<i>RHLR</i> = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses.	<i>ZKT</i> = Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.
<i>RHR</i> = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.	<i>ZKWL</i> = Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben.
<i>RM</i> = Revue du monde musulman.	<i>ZM</i> = Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
<i>RN</i> = Revue Numismatique.	<i>ZNTW</i> = Zeitschrift für die neuest. Wissenschaft.
<i>RP</i> = Records of the Past.	<i>ZPhP</i> = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.
<i>RPh</i> = Revue Philosophique.	<i>ZTK</i> = Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
<i>RQ</i> = Römische Quartalschrift.	<i>ZVK</i> = Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.
<i>RS</i> = Revue sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Hist. ancienne.	<i>ZVRW</i> = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
<i>RSA</i> = Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.	<i>ZWT</i> = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.
<i>RSI</i> = Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.	
<i>RTAP</i> = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.	
<i>RTP</i> = Revue des traditions populaires.	
<i>RThPh</i> = Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.	
<i>RTr</i> = Recueil de Travaux.	
<i>RVV</i> = Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.	
<i>RWB</i> = Realwörterbnch.	

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT*<sup>2</sup>, *LOT*<sup>6</sup>, etc.]

good hunting (each in his own department); for, though Kande Yaka is patron of all food supplies, there are other *yaku* each of whom is separately invoked for help in getting yams, rock-honey, and tree-honey. The *yaku* have their methods of showing approval of the offerings; usually they scatter some of the food, sometimes they feed a favoured member of the community or place leaves dipped in the sacred food upon his chest, or, putting his arms on his shoulders, the shaman, gasping and quivering, delivers a message of good omen from the *yaku*. Sometimes a *yaka* asks why he has been called. Is it because any one is sick? And, if any one is brought forward, he will feed him or anoint him with sacred food which is thought to cure the sickness.

The manifest object of most ceremonies is to obtain food, but there is no suggestion that any of them are performed to increase the food supply, as are the *intichiuma* ceremonies of Australia. They are also performed to cure sickness, and it is in this connexion that the *Pata Yaku* ceremony may be mentioned. This ceremony is held for a pregnant woman, that she may have safe delivery. Masses of bast are used on all the various properties necessary for the *yaku*; hence the name, signifying 'bark *yaku*.' No reason could be given for any figure in the dance, nor was there any known tradition connected with it, as was the case with most other ceremonies. A noticeable feature of the dance was that it was necessary for the woman's father to take part in it and that he dropped an arrow on the ground several times and leapt over it. Certain Sinhalese demons known as the *Pata Yaku* personify disease, but these have no connexion with hast, and it is impossible to say why the *Pata Yaku* should have been taken over from the Sinhalese.

Apart from the tendency, already mentioned, of certain *yaku* to be associated with hill-tops, no definite locality is considered their home; on the other hand, they are certainly not thought of as being habitually in close proximity with the living. Magical practices play a very small part in the life of the *Veddahs*; their charms we believe to have been taken over from the Sinhalese, and it certainly is no exaggeration to say that the *Vedda* conception of the supernatural is embodied in their *yaku* beliefs, to whose influence usual or unusual events are alike attributed. No creation traditions or myths referring to the natural features of the country could be discovered among the wilder groups of *Veddahs*.

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C. G. and B. Z. SELIGMAN.

**VEDIC RELIGION.—DEFINITIONS.**—With a view to avoiding confusion, it is advisable to define at the outset the sense in which each of the three terms 'religion,' 'mythology,' and 'magic' (witchcraft) is to be employed in the present article. Religion means, on the one hand, the body of beliefs entertained by men regarding the divine or supernatural powers, and, on the other, that sense of dependence on those powers which is expressed by word in the form of prayer and praise, or by act in the form of ritual and sacrifice. Mythology means the body of myths or stories which give an account of gods and heroes, describing their origin and surroundings, their deeds and activities. Mythology is thus included in, though not coextensive with, that aspect of religion which is concerned with belief. Magic means that body of practices which, instead of seeking to gain the goodwill of divine, beneficent powers by acts of worship, is largely directed against demoniac and hostile agencies, and aims at affecting the course of things directly, without the intervention of deities. Magic as such, being essentially different from religion and represent-

ing a more primitive stage of belief, is excluded from the scope of this article except where, as is sometimes the case, it is inextricably mixed up with religious ritual.

## 1. MEANING AND IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT.

By the general term 'Vedic religion' is here understood the religion of the Vedic period of Indian literature, which extends from some time after the Aryan immigration into the north-west of India, that is, from at least as early as B.C. 1300, down to about B.C. 200.

Vedic religion is peculiarly important as a branch of study. It is not only the earliest body of religious beliefs preserved in a literary form, but it also represents a more primitive phase of thought than is recorded in any other literature. It can, moreover, be traced step by step through the various stages of its development. It is, finally, the source of the religion of the modern Hindus, which can thus be historically followed up to its origin throughout a period of well over 3000 years. As a natural result of its value to the investigator of religious thought in general, the study of Vedic religion gave birth, in the latter half of the 19th cent., to the sciences of Comparative Mythology and Comparative Religion.

## 2. STAGES OF VEDIC RELIGION.

Three main successive stages may be clearly distinguished in the religion which is recorded in three corresponding phases of Vedic literature, viz. in (a) the *Vedas*, (b) the *Brāhmaṇas* together with the *Sūtras*, (c) the *Upaniṣads*.

(a) The religion of the four *Vedas*, regarded as a whole, is concerned with the worship of gods largely representing personifications of the powers of nature; the propitiation of demoniac beings comes only to a limited extent within its sphere.

The oldest and most important of the four *Vedas*, the *Rigveda*, from which considerable portions of the others are borrowed, is a collection of metrical hymns containing a large mythological element. These hymns are mainly invocations of the gods meant to accompany the oblation of Soma juice and the fire sacrifice of melted butter. The polytheism of this *Veda* assumes in its latest hymns a pantheistic colouring. Only a very few of its hymns are connected with witchcraft.

The hymns of the *Atharvaveda*, on the other hand, consist largely of spells meant for magical application, while their religion is pronounced pantheism.

The contents of the two other *Vedas* are entirely sacrificial in purpose. The *Sāmaveda* is almost exclusively composed of verses borrowed from the *Rigveda* to be applied in the ritual of the Soma sacrifice. The *Yajurveda* consists of ritual formulas, largely in prose, which, not being directly addressed to the gods, are practically of a magical type. The religious phase which it represents is, in spirit, identical with that of the *Brāhmaṇas*.

(b) The *Brāhmaṇas* are discursive theological treatises in prose dealing with the Vedic ritual; while the *Sūtras*, text-books composed in a very concise style, largely condense and systematize the contents of the *Brāhmaṇas* or add new material on domestic and everyday observances. The main difference in the mythology of the *Brāhmaṇas*, as compared with the *Rigveda*, is their recognition of a father-god as chief of the deities; while the general character of their religious belief is explicit pantheism. As to cult, they represent a ritual system which, in complexity of detail, far surpasses anything the world has elsewhere known.

(c) Though generally forming a part of the *Brāhmaṇas*, as a continuation of their speculative side, the *Upaniṣads* really represent a new religion

which is in virtual opposition to their ritual or practical side. This new, purely pantheistic religion is dominated by the doctrine of transmigration, a doctrine unknown to the Vedas, and only incipient in one of the Brāhmanas. A world-soul takes the place of the father-god of the Brāhmanas. Its nature is the main object of speculation; and the identity with it of the individual soul is the great fundamental doctrine of the Upaniṣads. The religious aim now is no longer the obtaining of earthly and heavenly happiness by sacrificing correctly to the gods, but the release, as a result of true knowledge, from re-birth by absorption in the world-soul.

### 3. VEDIC RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

The following account of Vedic beliefs, which are almost entirely mythological, starts from the statements of the Rigveda, to which the subsequent developments of the Vedic period are, if of sufficient importance, in each case added.

(a) COSMOGONIC BELIEFS.—Judged by their fragmentary references to the origin of the world, the poets of the Rigveda usually regarded it as having been mechanically produced like a building, the material being wood, and heaven and earth being supported by posts. The agents in the construction are regularly either the gods in general or various individual gods.

The last book of the Rigveda, however, contains a few cosmogonic hymns which represent other views. One of these (x. 90), though among the latest of the period, preserves a very primitive belief. It accounts for the origin of the world from the body of a primeval giant, whom the gods sacrificed. His head became the sky, his navel the air, and his feet the earth; while from his various members the four castes were produced. This being, called Purusa, or man, and interpreted pantheistically in the hymn itself as 'all this, both what has become and what shall be,' reappears as the world-soul in the Atharvaveda and the Upaniṣads.

There are, again, two cosmogonic hymns of the Rigveda which explain the origin of the universe, philosophically rather than mythologically, as a kind of evolution of the existent (*sat*) from the non-existent (*asat*). In another hymn of the same type, the agency of a creator (*dhātā*) is, after the evolution of the ocean through heat (*tapas*), introduced to produce in succession sun and moon, heaven and earth, air and ether. There is also a hymn (x. 121) in which heaven and earth and the great waters are described as the creation of Hiraṇya-garbha, the golden germ, who is said to have arisen in the beginning, to be the one god above all gods, and is finally invoked as Prajāpati, lord of all created things. It is to be noted that in the cosmogonic hymns the waters are commonly thought of as coming into existence first. In the Atharvaveda the all-god appears as a creator under several new names, especially as Skambha, 'support'; also as Prāṇa, 'breath'; Kāma, 'desire,' and others.

The cosmogony of the Brāhmanas requires the agency of the creator Prajāpati, who is not, however, always the starting-point. Sometimes the waters come first: on them floats the golden germ (*hiraṇya-garbha*), from which arises the spirit that produces the universe. This contradiction is due to the theories of evolution and of creation being combined. One cosmogonic myth of the Brāhmanas describes how the submerged earth was raised by a boar. The latter in post-Vedic mythology developed into an *avatār* of Viṣṇu.

(b) THEOGONIC BELIEFS.—Heaven and earth are ordinarily regarded in the Rigveda as the

parents of the gods in general. It is only very rarely that other gods are spoken of as parents of the rest; thus Dawn is once said to be the mother of the gods, and both Brahmanaspati and Soma are mentioned as their father. The cosmogonic hymns connect the origin of the gods chiefly with the element of water; but one of them describes the gods as born after the creation of the universe.

(c) ORIGIN OF MAN.—The Vedic beliefs regarding the origin of the human race were somewhat fluctuating; the ultimate source of man was, however, always thought to be divine. Agni, the god of fire, is at least once said to have begotten the race of men, and certain families of seers are regarded as independently descended through their founders from the gods. Usually, however, the human race is traced to a first man, either Manu or Yama, both of whom are sons of Vivasvat, a solar deity.

### 4. THE VEDIC GODS.

The Vedic Indian believed in the existence of a large number of supernatural beings, varying in character and power. They comprise two main groups: on the one hand, gods who are almost exclusively benevolent and receive worship; on the other hand, demons who are hostile and whose operations have to be counteracted by the help of the gods or by ritual expedients. The divine powers, again, may be classed as higher gods, whose power pervades the world and controls the great phenomena of nature; and as lesser divinities, whose activities are restricted to a limited sphere or are conducted on a smaller scale: for instance, tutelary deities and elves. The divine nature is further shared by men of days gone by: ancient heroes who are associated with the deeds of the gods, and ancestors who live with the gods and receive worship like them. Finally, at the bottom of the scale, we find many inanimate objects and implements which are deified, being invoked and worshipped like divine beings.

#### A. THE HIGHER GODS.

The gods are usually stated in the Rigveda and Atharvaveda, as well as the Brāhmanas, to be thirty-three in number; but there are occasional deviations or inconsistencies in regard to this belief. Troops of deities, such as the storm-gods, are, of course, not regarded as included in this number. The thirty-three are, in the Rigveda, divided into three groups of eleven, distributed in earth, air, and heaven, the three divisions of the universe. These three groups, now containing eight, eleven, and twelve deities respectively, appear in the Brāhmanas under the name of Vasus, Rudras, and Adityas.

*Gods originally mortal.*—The gods, as has already been shown, were believed to have had a beginning. But they were not thought to have all come into being at the same time; for the Rigveda occasionally refers to earlier gods, and the Atharvaveda speaks of ten gods as having existed before the rest. Certain deities are, moreover, described as the offspring of others. The Atharvaveda and the Brāhmanas also expressly state that the gods were originally mortal, adding that they overcame death by the practice of austerity. The same thing is implied in the Rigveda, where the gods are said to have acquired immortality by drinking Soma or by receiving it as a gift from Agni and Savitṛ. In the post-Vedic view, the immortality of the gods was limited to a cosmic age.

*Their physical attributes.*—The gods of the Veda are anthropomorphic in appearance. The parts of their bodies, which are frequently mentioned, are in many cases, however, little more than figurative



illustrations of the phenomena of nature represented by the deity. Thus the arms of the sun are nothing more than his rays; and the tongue and limbs of Agni merely denote his flames. Some of the gods appear equipped as warriors, especially Indra; others are described as priests, especially Agni and Bṛhaspati. All of them drive through the air in luminous cars, drawn chiefly by steeds, but sometimes by other animals.

*Their food.*—The favourite food of men is also that of the gods, consisting of milk, butter, grain, and the flesh of sheep, goats, and cattle. It is offered to them in the sacrifice; this is either conveyed to them in heaven by the god of fire, or they come in their cars to partake of it on the litter of grass prepared for their reception. Their favourite beverage is the exhilarating juice of the Soma plant.

*Their abode.*—The home of the gods is described as heaven, the third heaven, or the highest step of Viṣṇu (the zenith), where, cheered by draughts of Soma, they live a life of bliss.

*Their attributes.*—The most prominent characteristic of the Vedic gods is power; for they are constantly described as 'great' and 'mighty.' They regulate the order of nature and vanquish the great powers of evil. They hold sway over all creatures: no one can thwart their ordinances or live beyond the time they appoint; and the fulfilment of wishes is dependent on them. Their omniscience, which is restricted within narrow limits, is seldom referred to. It is an attribute which is emphasized in the case of Varuṇa only. The Vedic gods are benevolent beings who bestow prosperity on mankind, the only one in whom injurious traits appear being Rudra. They are, moreover, moral according to the standard of an early stage of civilization. They are described as 'true' and 'not deceitful,' being friends and protectors of the honest and righteous, but punishing sin and guilt. They are not, however, above employing craft against the hostile, and occasionally practise deceit even without the justification of a good end.

Since, in most cases, the Vedic gods have not yet become dissociated from the physical phenomena which they represent, their figures are indefinite in outline and deficient in individuality. Having many features, such as power, brilliance, benevolence and wisdom in common with others, each god exhibits very few distinctive attributes. This vagueness is further increased by the practice of invoking deities in pairs—a practice making both gods share characteristics properly belonging to one alone. When nearly every power can thus be attributed to every god, the identification of one deity with another becomes easy. There are, in fact, several such identifications in the Rigveda. The idea is even found in more than one late passage that various deities are but different forms of a single divine being. This idea, however, never developed into monotheism, for none of the regular sacrifices in the Vedic period were offered to a single god. Finally, in other late hymns of the Rigveda, we find the deities Aditi and Prajāpati identified not only with all the gods, but with nature as well. This brings us to the beginning of that pantheism which became characteristic of later Indian thought.

*Henotheism.*—The practice of invoking individual gods as the highest, frequent even in the older parts of the Rigveda, gave rise to Max Müller's theory of the 'henotheism' or 'kathenotheism' of that Veda, which he defines as 'the belief in individual gods alternately regarded as the highest,' the god addressed being for the moment treated as an independent and supreme deity, alone present to the mind. Criticism has,

however, shown that we have here only to do with an exaggerated form of praise which does not amount to a distinct type of religious thought.

The Vedic gods may most conveniently be classified as deities of heaven, air, and earth, according to the threefold division suggested by the Rigveda itself.

1. **CELESTIAL GODS.**—The historically oldest among the gods of the sky, as going back to the Indo-European period and identical with the Greek Zeus, is Dyaus, Heaven. The personification here hardly went beyond the notion of paternity (Dyaus pitar = Ζεύς πατήρ, Jūp-piter). Dyaus is generally coupled with Pṛthivī, Earth, when the two are celebrated as universal parents. He is once described as armed with a bolt, and, in another passage, as smiling through the clouds in allusion to the lightening sky.

Another and much more prominent deity of the sky is Varuṇa, the greatest of the Vedic gods beside Indra. He, too, dates from an earlier period, for in name he is probably identical with the Greek Οὐρανός, and in character he is allied to the Avestic Ahura Mazda. Varuṇa is the chief upholder of physical and moral order (*ṛta*). By his ordinance heaven and earth are held apart; he regulates the course of sun, moon, and stars; he causes the rivers to flow and the clouds to fertilize the earth with rain. Omniscient, he witnesses men's truth and falsehood. He is angry with sinners, whom he severely punishes, binding them with his fetters. But he is gracious to the penitent, releasing men not only from their own sins, but from those committed by their fathers. The prayer for forgiveness of guilt is characteristic of the Varuṇa hymns, which in general are the most exalted and ethical in the Veda. With the development of Prajāpati as creator and supreme god in the later Vedas, the importance of Varuṇa waned, till in the post-Vedic period he retained only the dominion of the waters as god of the sea.

Five gods represent various aspects of solar activity. The oldest of these, Mitra, the 'friend,' probably a personification of the sun's beneficent power, is an inheritance from the Indo-Iranian period, being identical with the Persian sun-god Mithra, whose cult became so widely diffused in the Roman empire during the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. In the Rigveda he has almost entirely lost his individuality, and is hardly ever invoked except in association with Varuṇa.

Sūrya, etymologically allied to the Greek ἥλιος is the most concrete of the solar deities, this being the regular name of the luminary. He is the husband of Dawn. His car, often referred to, is generally described as drawn by seven steeds. He is the soul of all that moves or is fixed, all creatures depending on him. He prolongs life, and drives away disease. His eye and his all-seeing power are often spoken of; and he is besought to declare men sinless to Mitra and Varuṇa.

Savitr, the 'stimulator,' represents the quickening activity of the sun. Bestowing immortality on the gods as well as length of life on man, he also conducts the spirits of the dead to where the righteous dwell. To him is addressed the most famous stanza of the Rigveda (iii. 62. 10), with which he was in ancient times invoked at the beginning of Vedic study, and which is still repeated by every orthodox Brāhman in his morning prayers. It is called the *Sāvitrī* from the deity, or the *Gāyatrī* from the metre:

'May we attain that excellent

Glory of Savitr the god,

That he may stimulate our thoughts.'

Pūṣan, the 'prosperer,' personifying probably the bountiful power of the sun, appears chiefly as a pastoral deity, who protects cattle and guides

them with his goad. He is a guardian of paths; and, knowing the ways of heaven, he conducts the dead to the abode of the fathers.

Though occupying quite a subordinate position in the *Rigveda*, and less frequently invoked than the four gods just mentioned, *Viṣṇu* is historically the most important of the solar deities; for he has become one of the two great gods of modern Hinduism. His three strides, typifying doubtless the course of the sun through the three divisions of the universe, constitute the central feature in his mythology. His highest step is heaven, the abode of the gods. He is frequently said to have taken his three strides for the benefit of man. This general trait is illustrated by the *Brāhmaṇa* myth in which *Viṣṇu* assumes the form of a dwarf as an artifice to recover the earth, now in possession of demons, by taking his three strides. *Viṣṇu*'s characteristic benevolence was in post-Vedic mythology further developed in the doctrine of his *avatārs* ('descents' to earth), or incarnations for the good of humanity.

*Uṣas* (cognate to *Ἥως* and *Aurora*), goddess of dawn, the daughter of *Dyaus*, is the only female deity invoked with frequency in the *Rigveda*, and is the most graceful creation of the Vedic seers. Being a poetical rather than a religious figure, she did not, like the other gods, receive a share in the *Soma* offering.

The *Āśvins* ('lords of steeds'), twin gods of morning, sons of *Dyaus*, eternally young and handsome, are addressed in many hymns. They very frequently receive the epithet *nāsatya*, 'true.' *Uṣas* is born at the yoking of their car, on which their spouse *Sūryā*, daughter of the sun, accompanies them. They are characteristically succouring deities. Delivering from distress in general and from shipwreck in particular, they are also divine physicians. They have several traits in common with the two famous horsemen of Greek mythology, the *Διόσκουροι*, sons of *Zeus* and brothers of *Helen*. The origin of these twin deities is obscure; it is perhaps most likely that they represent either the twilight, half dark, half light, or the morning and evening star.

2. ATMOSPHERIC GODS.—*Indra* is the dominant deity in the aerial sphere. While *Varuṇa* is the great moral ruler, *Indra* is the mighty warrior. *Indra* is, indeed, the favourite and national god of the Vedic Indian. An indication of this is the fact that more than one-fourth of the *Rigveda* is devoted to his praise. He is a mythological creation of an earlier period; for *Indra* is a demon in the *Avesta*. Though he is more anthropomorphic than any other Vedic god, his original character is still tolerably clear. He is primarily the thunder-god, and his conquest of the demon *Vṛtra* is the central feature of the mythology which surrounds him. Hence *Vṛtra-han*, 'slayer of *Vṛtra*,' is his chief and specific epithet. Armed with his bolt (*vajra*), elated by copious draughts of *Soma*, and aided by the *Maruts*, or storm-gods, *Indra* engages in the fray. The fight is terrific; for heaven and earth tremble with fear as the conflict rages. The constant repetition of the combat corresponds to the perpetual renewal of the phenomena of the thunderstorm which underlie the myth. The result of the victory is the release of the waters for man and the recovery of the light of the sun. *Indra* thus became a god of battle whose aid is constantly invoked in conflicts with earthly foes. He is often described as the protector of the *Aryan* colour, and vanquisher of the black race. One of his commonest epithets is *śakra*, the 'mighty one' (which in the *Pali* form of *Sakka* became his regular name in *Buddhist* literature). Certain immoral traits appear in *Indra*'s character. He occasionally indulges in acts of capricious violence, such as

slaying his father or shattering the car of Dawn. He is greatly addicted to *Soma*, which he drinks in enormous quantities to stimulate him in his warlike exploits. One entire hymn of the *Rigveda* (x. 119) consists of a monologue in which *Indra*, inebriated with *Soma*, boasts of his greatness and power. While *Varuṇa*, after the period of the *Rigveda*, gradually sank into obscurity, *Indra* in the *Brāhmaṇas* became the chief of the Indian heaven (*svarga*), and even maintained this position in the period of the *Purāṇas*, though, of course, subordinate to the trinity *Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Siva*.

Three of the less important deities of the air are connected with lightning. *Trita*, a somewhat obscure god with the epithet *āptya*, 'watery,' mentioned only in detached verses of the *Rigveda*, seems to represent the 'third' (*trītas* = Greek *ῥῑττος*) form of fire. He goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, both his name and his epithet occurring in the *Avesta*. In the *Rigveda* he appears as a presser of *Soma*, who aids *Indra* in slaying *Vṛtra* and the three-headed demon *Viśvarūpa*, or performs the latter exploit himself. He kindles the celestial fire, and even appears as a form of fire. His home is hidden and remote. As almost identical in origin with *Indra*, he was ousted by the latter at an early period. In the *Brāhmaṇas* he appears as one of three sons of *Agni*, the other two being *Ekata* and *Dvita*. In the epic poetry *Trita* survives only as the name of a human seer.

*Apām napāt*, 'son of waters,' also goes back to the Indo-Iranian period. Rarely mentioned in the *Rigveda*, he is described as clothed in lightning and shining without fuel in the waters. He thus represents the lightning form of fire as produced from the thundercloud.

*Mātariśvan* is referred to only in scattered verses of the *Rigveda* as a divine being who (like the Greek *Prometheus*) brought down the hidden fire from heaven to earth. He was originally, in all likelihood, conceived as an aerial form of *Agni*, with whom he is sometimes actually identified. His character then underwent a transformation; for in the later *Vedas*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, and the post-Vedic literature he appears as a wind-god.

It is somewhat remarkable that *Rudra*, the early form of the post-Vedic *Siva*, who in the *Rigveda* occupies a very subordinate position, like that of *Viṣṇu*, should have risen to parallel pre-eminence with *Viṣṇu* in a later age. *Rudra* is usually described as armed with bow and arrows, but sometimes he appears with a thunderbolt and lightning shaft. He is fierce and destructive like a wild beast, being 'the ruddy boar of heaven.' The most striking feature of the hymns addressed to him is fear of his terrible shafts and deprecation of his wrath. For he slays men and cattle, and assails with disease. He is, indeed, the one malignant deity of the *Vedas*. His malevolence, however, unlike that of a demon, is not the only side of his character. For he is a healer as well as a destroyer, being even lauded as the greatest of physicians. Thus he is often besought not only to preserve from calamity, but to bestow welfare on man and beast. The euphemistic epithet *Siva*, 'auspicious,' which begins to be applied to him in the *Rigveda*, grows more frequent in the later *Vedas*, till it finally becomes his regular name in post-Vedic mythology. With the increasing use of this epithet, the malevolence of *Rudra* becomes more pronounced in the later *Vedas*. The *White Yajurveda*, which adds various disgraceful attributes, furnishes the transition to the terrific and repulsive *Siva* of *Hindu* mythology. The exact basis of *Rudra* is somewhat obscure; but the inference from the evidence of the *Rigveda* seems to be justified that he originally represented the destructive agency of the thunderstorm. His un-

canny and baleful traits have, however, also been explained as starting from the conception of a deity of mountain and forest whence storm and disease attack man and beast.

The sons of Rudra and Pṛṣni (the 'mottled' cloud-cow) are the Maruts, or storm-gods, also often called Rudras, a group of thrice seven or thrice sixty deities, the constant allies of Indra in his conflicts. They are described as like fires at their birth, and as 'born from the laughter of lightning.' They are young warriors, armed with spears and battle-axes, wearing helmets and decked with golden ornaments. Their headlong course is often graphically depicted. They ride on golden cars which gleam with lightning: with their fellies they rend the mountains and shatter the lordly trees of the forest. They share to some extent the destructive as well as the beneficent traits of their father Rudra. Their lightning-bolt slays men and kine. But they also bring healing remedies, apparently the rains with which they fertilize the earth.

The god of wind is not a prominent deity in the Rigveda. Under the more anthropomorphic form of Vāyu he is chiefly associated with Indra. As Vāta (the ordinary name of wind), he is described in a more concrete manner (often in connexion with the verb *vā*, 'to blow,' from which the word is derived), being coupled only with the less anthropomorphic god Parjanya.

A personification of the rain-cloud is Parjanya, son of Dyaus. He is not a prominent deity, being invoked in only three hymns of the Rigveda, which, however, describe his activity in the rainstorm very vividly. He quickens the earth with rain, causing abundant vegetation to spring up. He also bestows fertility on the animal world. He thus comes to be spoken of as 'our divine father.'

The waters, Apah, are praised as divine powers in four hymns of the Rigveda. They are celestial, abiding in the home of the gods. The aerial waters are the mothers of one of the forms of Agni, Apām napāt, son of waters. But, as flowing in channels and having the sea for their goal, the waters are also terrestrial (cf. 3). They are young wives, mothers, goddesses who bestow boons and come to the sacrifice. They not only bear away defilement, but cleanse from moral guilt, the sins of violence, cursing, and lying. They also grant remedies, healing, long life, and immortality.

3. TERRESTRIAL DEITIES.—Rivers are not infrequently personified and invoked in the Rigveda. Thus the Sindhu (Indus) is celebrated as a goddess in one hymn, and the Vipās (Biās) and Sutudri (Sutlej), sister streams of the Panjāb, in another. The most important and oftenest lauded is, however, the Sarasvatī. Though the personification goes much further here than in the case of other streams, the connexion of the goddess with the river is never lost sight of in the Rigveda. In the Brāhmaṇas, Sarasvatī has become identified with the goddess of speech, and in Hindu mythology she appears further modified as the goddess of eloquence and wisdom, invoked as a Muse, and regarded as the wife of Brahmā.

Earth, or Pṛthivī, the broad, nearly always associated with Dyaus, is often spoken of as a mother. The personification is rudimentary, the attributes of the goddess being chiefly those of the physical earth.

By far the most important of the terrestrial deities is Agni, god of fire. Next to Indra, he is the most frequently invoked of the Vedic gods, being celebrated in about one-fifth of the hymns of the Rigveda. It is only natural that the personification of the sacrificial fire, the centre of the Vedic ritual, should engross the thoughts of the poets to such an extent. *Agni-s* (Lat. *igni-s*)

being also the ordinary name for fire, the anthropomorphism has not proceeded far. The bodily parts of the god have an unmistakable connexion with the various aspects of the sacrificial fire. Thus Agni is called 'butter-backed,' 'butter-faced,' and 'butter-haired,' with reference to the oblation of *ghī* (*ghṛta*) cast on the flames. His teeth, jaws, and tongues are associated with the action of burning. Agni is borne on a brilliant car, drawn by two or more steeds, which he yokes to bring the gods, for he is the charioteer of the sacrifice.

Beyond his sacrificial activities, little is said about the deeds of Agni. It is otherwise mainly his various births, forms, and abodes that occupy the thoughts of the Vedic poets. Agni is usually called the son of Dyaus and Pṛthivī, sometimes also the offspring of Tvastṛ and the waters. But owing to the daily production of Agni from the two firesticks, they, too, are his parents. He is then a newborn infant, also called 'son of strength' because of the powerful friction required to kindle the flame. He wakes at dawn, for the fire is lit every morning. He is thus the youngest of the gods; but he is also old, having conducted the first sacrifice.

As not only terrestrial, but sprung from the aerial waters and having been brought from heaven, Agni is often spoken of as having a triple character. This threefold Agni is the earliest Indian trinity, probably the prototype not only of the later Rigvedic triad of Sun, Wind, Fire, connected with the three divisions of the universe, but also of the triad Sun, Indra, Fire, which, though not Rigvedic, is still ancient. There may be a historical connexion between this triad and the conception of the later Hindu trinity of Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Siva. This triad of fires may, further, have suggested, and would explain, the division of a single sacrificial fire into the three which form an essential feature in the cult of the Brāhmaṇas.

As kindled in innumerable dwellings, Agni is also said to have many births. He assumes various divine forms and has many names; in him are comprehended all the gods, whom he surrounds as a felly the spokes. Though scattered in many places, he is one and the same king. It was probably from such speculations on the nature of Agni that an advance was made to the conception of a unity pervading the many manifestations of the divine which has been noted above (p. 603a).

As the deity most intimately associated with the everyday life of man, Agni is spoken of as an immortal who has taken up his abode among mortals in human dwellings, and is constantly called a 'guest' and 'lord of the house.' Being the conductor of the sacrifice as well as the summoner of the gods, he is very frequently described as a 'messenger,' who moves between heaven and earth. Agni is, however, most characteristically called a 'priest,' usually by the generic terms *ṛtvij* and *vipra*; or specifically 'domestic priest' (*purohita*), oftenest of all 'invoker' or 'chief priest' (*hotṛ*). He is, in fact, the great priest among the Vedic gods, as Indra is the great warrior. Agni is a mighty benefactor of his worshippers, whose enemies he consumes. The benefits which he confers are chiefly domestic welfare and general prosperity, while those which Indra grants are mostly the rewards of victory.

Agni is frequently spoken of in the Rigveda as a 'goblin-slayer,' a trait surviving from what is perhaps the oldest phase of the cult of fire as warding off the attack of evil spirits.

Since the Soma sacrifice forms, by the side of fire-worship, the other main feature in the ritual of the Rigveda, the personification of the juice of

the Soma plant is naturally one of its most prominent deities. Judged by the number of hymns addressed to him, Soma is third in importance among the Vedic gods, coming next to Agni from this point of view. Since the plant and the juice are constantly before the eyes of the priests as they sing the praises of the god, the personification is vague. The imagination of the poets dwells chiefly on the processes of pressing and straining, which it overlays with chaotic imagery and mystical fancies of almost infinite variety.

As the most important of herbs, Soma is spoken of as 'lord of plants' or as their king, being also designated 'lord of the forest.' There are many references to Soma growing on the mountains. Heaven, however, is regarded as its true and original home; and the myth of its having been brought down to earth by an eagle (*śyena*) is often alluded to.

The mental stimulation produced by drinking Soma is expressed by one of the poets of the Rigveda with the words: 'We have drunk Soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods.' Its exhilarating power is, however, dwelt upon chiefly in connexion with Indra, whom it inspires in his mighty conflicts with the aerial demons. Soma thus came to be regarded as a divine drink, which bestowed immortality on the gods, being called *amṛta* (allied to Greek *ἀμβροσία*), the 'immortal' draught. Hence the god Soma places his worshipper in the imperishable world of eternal light and glory, making him immortal where Yama dwells. Healing power is similarly attributed to Soma. The juice is medicine for the ailing man, and the god heals the sick, making the blind to see and the lame to walk.

In some of the latest hymns of the Rigveda, Soma begins to be somewhat obscurely identified with the moon. In the Atharvaveda and the Yajurveda this identification is explicit in several passages. It is already a commonplace in the Brāhmaṇas, which explain the waning of the moon as due to the gods and fathers consuming the ambrosia of which it consists. One of the Upaniṣads, moreover, states that the moon is king Soma, the food of the gods, and is drunk up by them. In post-Vedic literature, finally, Soma is a regular name of the moon. This somewhat remarkable coalescence of Soma with the moon must have started from the exaggerated terms in which the poets of the Rigveda describe the celestial nature and brilliance of Soma. It was doubtless furthered by the imagery in which the poets of the Rigveda indulged. Thus Soma is spoken of as swelling in the waters (with which it was mixed), and Soma in the bowls is once even compared to the moon in the waters. Soma is often called *Indu*, or 'drop.' This word shared the fate of Soma, also becoming a regular name of the moon in the post-Vedic period.

Soma must already have been an important feature in both the mythology and the cult of the Indo-Iranian period; for the Avestan Haoma shows many points of agreement, in both directions, with the Soma of the Rigveda.

4. ABSTRACT DEITIES.—One result of the advance of thought, during the period of the Rigveda, from the concrete towards the abstract was the creation of abstract deities. Of the two classes which may be distinguished, the earlier and more numerous one seems to have started from epithets which were applicable to one or more older deities, but which came to acquire an independent value, as the want of a god exercising the particular activity in question began to be felt. When the type was once established, the creation of direct abstractions of this kind became possible. We

have here names denoting either an agent (formed with the suffix *-tr* or *-tar*, the Lat. and Gr. *-tor*, *-ter*), such as Dhātṛ, 'creator,' or an attribute, such as Prajāpati, 'lord of creatures.' The *agent gods* are nearly all of rare occurrence, appearing for the most part in the latest book of the Rigveda. Thus Dhātṛ, an epithet of Indra and Viśvakarman, appears also as an independent deity who creates heaven and earth, sun and moon. In the post-Vedic period Dhātṛ has become one of the regular names of the creator and preserver of the world. Of rarer occurrence are Vīdhātṛ, the 'disposer,' Dhātṛ, the 'supporter,' Trātṛ, the 'protector,' and Netṛ, the 'leader.' The only agent god mentioned with any frequency in the Rigveda is Tvaṣṭṛ, the 'fashioner' or 'artificer,' though no hymn is addressed to him. He is the most skilful of workmen, having among other things fashioned the bolt of Indra, and a new drinking-cup for the gods. He shapes the form of beings and presides over generation. He is a guardian of Soma, which is called the 'mead of Tvaṣṭṛ,' and Indra drinks it in his house. He is the father of Saranyū, wife of Vivasvat and mother of the primeval twins Yama and Yami. The origin of this deity is obscure. He may in the beginning have represented the creative activity of the sun; having then, because of his name, become the centre of attraction for myths illustrative of creative skill, he finally came to fill the place of a divine artificer in the Vedic pantheon. Oldenberg thinks that Tvaṣṭṛ, the 'artificer,' was originally a direct abstraction of artistic skill. He regards the solar deity Savitr, the 'stimulator,' whose name is similarly formed, as from the outset an abstraction of this type.

There are a few other abstract deities whose names were originally epithets of older gods. They are of rare and late occurrence in the Rigveda, their appellations being mostly compound in form and representing the supreme god who was being evolved at the end of the Rigvedic period. The historically most important among these is Prajāpati, 'lord of creatures.' Originally an epithet of such gods as Savitr and Soma, the name is mentioned in a late verse of the last book of the Rigveda as that of a distinct deity in the character of a creator. Prajāpati is often in the Atharvaveda and the White Yajurveda, and regularly in the Brāhmaṇas, recognized as the chief and father of the gods. In the Sūtras he is identified with Brahmā, his successor in the post-Vedic age. Similarly, the epithet Viśvakarman, 'all-creating,' appears as the name of an independent deity, to whom two hymns of the last book of the Rigveda are addressed. In the Brāhmaṇas, Viśvakarman is expressly identified with the creator Prajāpati, while in post-Vedic mythology he appears, doubt less owing to the name, as the artificer of the gods (like Tvaṣṭṛ in the Rigveda). Hiraṇya-garbha, the 'golden germ,' once occurs in the Rigveda as the supreme god, described as the 'one lord of all that exists.' In the Yajurveda he is expressly identified with Prajāpati, and in the later literature his name appears chiefly as a designation of Brahmā. In one curious instance it is possible to watch the genesis of an abstract deity of this type. The refrain of a late hymn of the Rigveda refers to the unknown creator with the interrogative pronoun *ka*: 'What god should we with sacrifices worship?' This led to the word *Ka* being used, in the later Vedic literature, as an independent name of the supreme god. In the Atharvaveda Rohita, 'the red one' (whose female form is Rohiṇī), has become a distinct deity in the capacity of a creator, the name having originally been an epithet of the sun. The only abstract deity of this type occurring in the oldest as well as the

latest parts of the Rigveda is Bṛhaspati, 'lord of the spell,' of whom Brahmanaspati is a frequent doublet. He has been regarded by Roth and other Vedic scholars as a direct personification of devotion (*brahma*). To the present writer it seems more likely that he is only an indirect deification of the sacrificial aspect of Agni, with whom he is often identified. As the companion and ally of Indra, Bṛhaspati has been drawn into the myth of the release of the cows, which he is frequently described as delivering from the demon Vala. His most prominent characteristic is, however, his priesthood. As the divine *brahmā* priest, he seems to have been the prototype of the god Brahman, chief of the later Hindu trinity. The name Bṛhaspati itself survived in post-Vedic mythology as the designation of a sage, teacher of the gods and regent of the planet Jupiter.

The second and smaller class of abstract deities comprises personifications of abstract nouns. There are seven or eight of these occurring in the last book of the Rigveda. Two hymns are addressed to *Manyu*, 'wrath,' and one to *Śradhdhā*, 'faith.' *Anumati*, 'favour' (of the gods), *Aramati*, 'devotion,' *Sintā*, 'bounty,' *Asunīti*, 'spirit-life,' and *Nirrti*, 'decease,' occur in only a few isolated passages. These abstractions become commoner in the later Vedas. Thus *Kāma*, 'desire,' first appears in the Atharvaveda, where the arrows with which he pierces hearts are already referred to; he becomes in post-Vedic mythology the well-known flower-arrowed god of love. In the same Veda *Kāla*, 'time,' and *Skambha*, 'support,' are cosmogonic powers, while *Prāṇa*, 'breath,' and some other analogous abstractions are identified with Prajāpati. *Śrī*, as a personification of beauty or fortune, does not begin to appear till the Brāhmaṇa period.

A purely abstract deity, often incidentally celebrated throughout the Rigveda, is Aditi, 'liberation,' 'freedom' (literally 'un-binding': *a-diti*), whose main characteristic is the power of delivering from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt. She, however, occupies a unique position among the abstract deities owing to the peculiar way in which the personification seems to have come about. She is the mother of the small group of deities called Ādityas, often styled 'sons of Aditi.' This expression at first most probably meant nothing more than 'sons of liberation,' according to an idiom common in the Rigveda and elsewhere. The word was then personified, with the curious result that the mother is mythologically younger than some at least of her sons, who (e.g. Mitra) date from the Indo-Iranian period. The goddess Diti, mentioned only three times in the Rigveda, probably came into being as an antithesis to Aditi, with whom she is twice mentioned there and several times in the later Vedas. The Atharvaveda speaks of her sons, the Daityas, who in post-Vedic mythology are demons, enemies of the gods.

5. GODDESSES, in general, play an insignificant part in the Vedas, taking no share in the government of the world. The only one of importance is Uṣas (p. 604\*). Next comes Sarasvatī, who, however, ranks with only the least prominent of the male deities. Very few others are celebrated in even as much as one entire hymn. Such are *Ṛṣhivī*, Earth (p. 605\*); *Rātri*, Night, the sister of Dawn, conceived not as dark, but bright with stars; *Aranyāni*, goddess of the forest; and *Vāc*, goddess of speech. Others are only sporadically mentioned. Such are *Purandhī* and *Dhīṣaṇā*, goddesses of plenty. Less often referred to are *Rākā* and *Sinivālī*, spoken of as bountiful goddesses; in later Vedic texts they appear as the presiding deities of full and new moon respectively. *Kuhū* is also mentioned in these texts as a personification

of the new moon. *Ilā* is a sacrificial goddess, the personification of the oblation of milk and butter. With her is also mentioned *Mahī* or *Bhārati*, another sacrificial deity. The wives of the great gods are still more insignificant, being mere names formed from those of their consorts, altogether lacking in individuality. Thus *Agnāyī*, *Indrānī*, *Varuṇānī* are the names of the spouses of Agni, Indra, and Varuṇa respectively. *Rudrānī*, as the wife of Rudra, first appears in the Sūtras. The 'wives of the gods' (*devānām patnīs*), occasionally mentioned as a group in the Rigveda, have a special place assigned to them, apart from the gods, in the cult of the Brāhmaṇas.

6. DUAL DIVINITIES. — A peculiar feature of Vedic religion is the invocation of pairs of deities whose names are combined as dual compounds. About a dozen such pairs are celebrated in entire hymns, and about half a dozen more in detached verses of the Rigveda. By far the largest number of hymns is addressed to the couple Mitra-Varuṇa, though the names most frequently compounded in the dual are Heaven and Earth (*dyāvapṛthivī*). Most likely the latter pair, having been associated as universal parents from the Indo-European period onwards, furnished the analogy for this dual type. They are also often called the Two Worlds (*rodasī*) in the Rigveda.

7. GROUPS OF DEITIES. — Among the creations of Vedic mythology we also find a few more or less definite groups of deities, generally associated with some particular god. The Maruts who, as we have seen (p. 605\*), attend on Indra, form the most numerous group. Under the name of Rudras, they are also occasionally associated with their father Rudra. The smaller group of the Ādityas, of whom Varuṇa is the chief, are constantly mentioned in company with their mother Aditi. Their number in the Rigveda is stated to be seven or, with the addition of *Martāṇḍa*, eight; while in the Brāhmaṇas and later it is regularly twelve. One passage of the Rigveda enumerates six of them: Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Dakṣa, Aṃśa; Sūrya was probably regarded as the seventh. A much less important group, without individual names or definite number in the Vedas, is that of the Vasus, whose leader is, in the Rigveda, generally Indra, but in later Vedic texts generally Agni. In the Brāhmaṇas their number is stated to be eight. There are, finally, the *Viśvedevās*, or all-gods, who are invoked in many hymns. It is an artificial sacrificial group, intended to include the whole pantheon, and thus to ensure the omission of no deity when all were meant to be invoked. But in spite of its name, this comprehensive group was, strange to say, sometimes conceived as a narrower one, associated with others like the Vasus and Ādityas.

#### B. LESSER DIVINITIES.

1. ELVES, GENII. — Besides the higher gods already described, a number of lesser divine powers are known to the Rigveda. The most prominent of these are the Rbhus, a deft-handed trio who by their marvellous skill acquired the rank of deities. Among their five main feats of dexterity, the greatest consisted in transforming the bowl of Tvaṣṭr into four shining cups. The bowl and the cups have been variously interpreted as the moon with its four phases or the year with its seasons. The Rbhus further exhibited their skill in renewing the youth of their parents, by whom Heaven and Earth seem to have been meant. The myth of the Rbhus having rested for twelve days in the house of the sun is probably an allusion to the intercalation of twelve days at the winter solstice, so as to bring the lunar year of 354 days into harmony with the solar year of nearly 366 days.



Occasional mention is made in the Rigveda of an Apsaras ('moving in the waters'), a celestial water-nymph, the spouse of a corresponding genius named Gandharva. Occasionally more Apsaras than one are spoken of. In the Atharvaveda and later, the Apsaras form a class, regularly associated with the Gandharvas; and though they are still connected with the waters and clouds, their sphere is here, as well as in the Yajurveda, extended to the earth, where they haunt the different varieties of fig-trees called Nyagrodha, Ásvattha, Udumbara, and Plakṣa, in which the music of their cymbals and lutes is heard. In the Brāhmaṇas they appear as nymphs of great beauty, devoted to song, dance, and play. Several individual names of Apsaras are mentioned in the later Vedas, but the only one occurring in the Rigveda is that of *Urvaśī*. In an obscure hymn (x. 95) she engages in a dialogue with her earthly spouse *Purūravas*, whom she has forsaken. The myth of their alliance is told more fully in one of the Brāhmaṇas. *Gandharva* is, in the Rigveda, a single being (like the Gandarewa of the Avesta), who dwells in the aerial sphere, guards the celestial Soma, and is (as in the Avesta) connected with the waters. In the later Vedas the Gandharvas form a class associated with the Apsaras in a stereotyped manner, and are brought into relation with marriage and with wedding ceremonies. In the post-Vedic period the Gandharvas have become celestial singers.

2. TUTELARY DEITIES.—There are a few divinities of the tutelary order, guardians watching over the welfare of house or field. One of these is *Vāstospati*, 'lord of the dwelling,' rarely mentioned in the Rigveda, where he is invoked to grant a favourable entry, to remove disease, and to bestow protection and prosperity. The Sūtras prescribe that *Vāstospati* should be propitiated when a new house is to be occupied. *Kṣetrasya pati*, 'lord of the field,' is besought in the Rigveda to grant cattle and horses and to confer prosperity. The Sūtras state that he is to be worshipped when a field is ploughed. *Sītā*, the 'furrow,' is once invoked in the Rigveda to dispense crops and rich blessings. In a Sūtra she appears as the wife of Indra. Here, too, *Urvarā*, the 'arable field,' with her garland of threshing-floors, is supplicated to bestow welfare.

### C. HEROES.

The heroes of the Rigveda are all ancient seers or priests. (1) The most important of them is Manu or Manus (which also means 'man'), the ancestor of the human race, styled 'our father' by the poets, who also speak of the sacrificers of their own day as 'the people of Manu.' Regarded as the son of Vivasvat, he bears the patronymic Vaivasvata from the Atharvaveda onwards. He is thus a doublet of Yama as progenitor of mankind. He is represented as the institutor of sacrifice. Soma is said to have been brought to him by the bird, and Indra is described as drinking the Soma of Manu to fortify him for the conflict with Vṛtra. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu plays the part of Noah, being saved in a ship from a deluge, which has swept away all other creatures, by a fish (in post-Vedic mythology an *avatār* of Viṣṇu). Manu then became the ancestor of the human race through his daughter Ilā, who was produced from his offerings. (2) Atharvan is frequently mentioned in the Rigveda as an ancient fire-priest, who practised devotion along with Father Manu. In the Atharvaveda he appears as a companion of the gods, being related to them and dwelling in heaven. The name is also found in the plural as that of a group of fathers. In the Atharvaveda, the

Atharvans are described as destroying goblins with a magical herb. (3) Dadhyañc, son of Atharvan, is a sacrificer who kindled Agni in the days of old. A myth told about him is that the Ásvins gave him a horse's head, with which he proclaimed to them where the mead of Tvaṣṭṛ was to be found. Indra is also connected with this myth; for he is said to have discovered the horse's head, and with the bones of Dadhyañc to have slain ninety-nine Vṛtras. (4) Atri is one of the ancient seers most frequently mentioned in the Rigveda. The myth of his deliverance from a fiery chasm by the Ásvins is often referred to. He is also said to have found the sun when hidden by the demon Svarbhānu and to have placed it in the sky. The Atris are a family of seers to whom the authorship of the fifth book of the Rigveda is attributed. (5) Kanva is another ancient seer and sacrificer often spoken of in the Rigveda. He is said to have been befriended by Agni, Indra, and the Maruts; and to have been specially aided by the Ásvins, who restored his eyesight. Most of the hymns of the eighth book of the Rigveda are attributed to his descendants the Kanvas. (6) Kutsa is one of the very few Vedic heroes who exhibit warlike traits. He is chiefly connected with the Indra myth. Riding on the same car as Indra and acting as his charioteer, he is even invoked with Indra in the dual. He is especially associated with Indra in slaying the demon *Suśna*. When Kutsa was pressed by his foes, Indra tore off the wheel of the sun to aid him. Nevertheless Indra sometimes appears as hostile to Kutsa, delivering him into the hands of an enemy. Several hymns of the first and ninth books of the Rigveda are assigned by tradition to the seer Kutsa. (7) Much less frequently mentioned in the Rigveda is the seer *Kāvya Uśanā*, whose characteristic feature is wisdom. He, too, is associated with Indra. He is said to have fashioned for Indra the bolt for slaying Vṛtra; and, once joins him and Kutsa in slaying the demon *Suśna*. (8) Some names, moreover, appear predominantly or exclusively in the plural as representing families or groups of ancient seers, who, if in some cases historical in origin, have become invested with mythological traits. A frequently mentioned group of this kind are the *Angirases*, who are closely associated with Indra in the myth of the capture of the cows. They are described as seers who are the sons of the gods, and who by sacrifice obtained immortality as well as the friendship of Indra. They receive offerings of Soma, and are invoked like gods. When used in the singular, *angiras* is nearly always an epithet of Agni, who is called the first seer Angiras or the chief Angiras. The word *angiras* appears to be etymologically identical with the Greek ἀγγελος, 'messenger.' This points to the Angirases originally having been regarded as messengers between heaven and earth, attendant on Agni. But if they were mythical in origin, they came to be regarded as an actual priestly family, the composition of the ninth book of the Rigveda being attributed to them. This is also indicated by the compound term Atharva-angirasaḥ, 'the Atharvans and Angirases,' a designation of the Atharvaveda which occurs in that Veda itself as well as later. (9) Another group of ancient priests are the *Bhrgus*, chiefly connected with the myth of the communication of fire to men. The Indian Prometheus, Mātariśvan, brought the hidden Agni from heaven to the Bhrgus, who established and diffused the sacrificial fire on earth. In two or three passages of the Rigveda they are referred to as if an actual tribe of bygone days. In the later Vedic literature, Bhrgu is the eponymous hero of a tribe, and regarded as a son of Varuṇa. (10) A definite numerical group of

ancient priests, but rarely referred to in the Rigveda, are the 'Seven Seers' (*sapta ṛṣayah*). They are associated with the gods and called divine. Their number may have been suggested by the seven technical priests, of whom they would then represent the prototypes. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa they are regarded as the seven stars in the constellation of the Great Bear, and are stated to have themselves been originally bears. This identification was doubtless brought about by the sameness of number in the two groups, aided by the similarity of sound between *ṛṣi*, 'seer,' and *ṛkṣa*, which in the Rigveda means both 'star' and 'bear.' (11) The above groups are all spoken of as 'fathers,' and nearly all of them, besides a few others, are mentioned as races of ancestors to whom worship is paid. Those thus characterized in the Rigveda are the Navagṛhas, Vairūpas, Angirases, Atharvans, Bhṛguṣ, Vasiṣṭhas. The last four, whether mythical in origin or not, appear in the historical aspect of families to which the composition of the Atharvaveda and two books of the Rigveda was attributed.

#### D. ANIMALS.

Animals play a considerable part in the mythological and religious ideas of the Veda. (1) Among them the horse is prominent as drawing the cars of the gods. There are also mentioned in the Rigveda at least four individual steeds, probably all representing the sun, which are regarded as deities and objects of worship. The most notable of these is *Dadhikrā* or *Dadhikrāvan*, to whom four hymns are addressed. He is described as a swift and victorious steed, regularly invoked with Uṣas, occasionally with Agni, the Aśvins, Sūrya, and others. The divine horse *Tārksya*, addressed in one short hymn of the Rigveda, is a god-impelled mighty steed, a vanquisher of chariots, speeding to battle. In one or two later Vedic texts *Tārksya* is referred to as a bird; and in the epic and later literature he is identical with the swift bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu. A third steed, several times mentioned, is *Paidva*, spoken of as white, a dragon-slayer, a conqueror invincible in battles, worthy to be invoked like the god Bhaga by men. Lastly, there is *Etāsa*, the swift steed who draws the bright form of the sun, but also contends in a race with Sūrya. (2) The cow, however, is the animal which occupies the most important position in Vedic mythology and religion. Cows, representing beams of light, draw the car of Dawn. Rain-clouds, especially in the Indra myth, are personified as cows; Prṣni, the mother of the Maruts, being an individualization. The bountiful clouds are doubtless the prototypes of the many-coloured cows, mentioned in the Atharvaveda, which yield all desires in the heaven of the Blest, and which are the forerunners of the Cow of Plenty (*Kāmadukh*) of post-Vedic poetry. The animal herself is already regarded as sacred in the Rigveda; for one of the poets impresses on his hearers that she should not be killed, and she is frequently designated by the term *aghnyā*, 'not to be slain.' She is even addressed as a goddess; and the divinities Iḍā, Aditi, and Pṛthivī are sometimes conceived in the form of a cow. In the Atharvaveda the worship of the cow as a sacred animal is fully recognized. That the tendency to deification had already begun before the Aryans entered India is proved by the evidence of the Avesta, which shows that the sanctity of the cow is at least as old as the Indo-Iranian period. (3) In the Rigveda the goat is the animal that draws the car of Pūṣan. This is also the form of the divine being Aja Ekapād, 'the one-footed goat.' In the later Vedic literature we occasionally find the goat connected or

identified with Agni. (4) The ass appears in Vedic mythology only as drawing the car of the Aśvins. (5) The dog is met with in the form of the two brindled hounds of Yama, chief of the dead. (6) The boar has, in the Yajurveda, a cosmogonic character, as the form assumed by the creator Prajāpati when he raised the earth out of the waters. From this conception the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu was developed in Hindu mythology. (7) The tortoise has, in the later Vedas, acquired a semi-divine position; for in the White Yajurveda he is spoken of as 'lord of waters,' and in the Atharvaveda he appears under the name of Kaśyapa, beside or as identical with Prajāpati, receiving the epithet *Ṣṣayambhū*, 'self-existent.' In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Prajāpati is said, when producing all creatures, to have changed himself into a tortoise. This transformation became, in Hindu mythology, the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu. (8) A monkey named Vṛṣākapi appears in an obscure myth told in a late hymn of the Rigveda as a favourite of Indra. (9) Another late hymn contains a panegyric of frogs as bestowing cows and long life. (10) The bird frequently figures in Vedic mythology, as the eagle (*śyena*) that brings the Soma to Indra. *Noxious animals* in Vedic mythology generally appear as demons or exhibit demoniac traits. (11) The serpent is here the most prominent. This is the form which the powerful demon Vṛtra, the foe of Indra, is thought to possess; for he is frequently designated as *ahī*, 'the snake.' The serpent, however, also shows a beneficent aspect in the divine being Ahi Budhnya, 'the dragon of the deep,' who is supposed to dwell in the fathomless depths of the aerial ocean. In the later Vedas, the serpents (*śarpāḥ*) are mentioned, along with the Gandharvas and others, as a class of semi-divine beings that dwell on earth, in air, and in heaven; and in the Sūtras, offerings to them are prescribed. In the Sūtras, we for the first time come across the Nāgas, human beings in appearance, but serpents in reality. In the Hindu period, serpent-worship is found all over India. Since there is no trace of it in the Rigveda, while it prevails widely among the non-Aryan tribes, the conclusion seems justified that, when the Aryans overspread India, the land of serpents, they found the cult diffused among the aborigines and borrowed it from them.

#### E. DEIFIED INANIMATE OBJECTS.

Besides the great phenomena of nature, various features of the earth's surface, as well as artificial objects, are treated as deities in the Vedas. This is a fetishistic worship of inanimate things chiefly regarded as useful to man.

1. *Mountains* are frequently addressed as divinities in the Rigveda, but only along with other natural objects, such as rivers and plants, or in association with gods. *Parvata*, 'mountain,' is even invoked with Indra in the form of a dual compound. Besides rivers and waters, already mentioned as terrestrial goddesses, *plants* (*oṣadhi*) are regarded as divine powers. One entire hymn of the Rigveda is devoted to their praise, chiefly with reference to their healing powers; the Atharvaveda refers to a medicinal plant as 'a goddess born on the goddess earth'; and the Black Yajurveda prescribes an animal sacrifice to plants for the obtaining of offspring. Large trees, called 'lords of the forest' (*vanaspati*), are also sometimes addressed as deities, mainly in association with waters and mountains.

2. Various *sacrificial implements* are deified. The most important is the *sacrificial post*. It is praised and invoked in a whole hymn of the Rigveda, in which posts set up by priests are described as gods. The *sacrificial litter* (*barhis*) is also dei-

fied, and the 'divine doors,' by which the sacrificial enclosure is entered, are goddesses. The *pressing stones* (*grāvan*) are addressed as deities in three hymns of the Rigveda; spoken of here as immortal, unaging, more mighty than heaven, they are invoked to drive away demons and destruction. The *mortar and pestle* used in pounding the Soma plant are invoked in the Rigveda. In the Atharvaveda divine power of the highest order is ascribed to *ucchiṣṭa*, the 'remnant' of the sacrifice, as well as to various sacrificial ladles. The agricultural implements named *śuna* and *śirā*, probably the ploughshare and the plough, are invoked in a few verses of the Rigveda, and, in the ritual, receive the offering of a cake.

3. *Weapons*, finally, are sometimes deified; armour, bow, quiver, arrows, and drum being invoked in one of the hymns of the Rigveda. The drum alone is also celebrated in an entire hymn of the Atharvaveda.

4. *Idols* seem not to have been known in the age of the Vedas; at all events they first begin to be referred to in the later additions to the Brāhmaṇas and in the Sūtras. One verse of the Rigveda, however, seems to allude to some image of Indra.

5. *Material objects* treated as symbols of deities are occasionally mentioned in the ritual literature. Thus the wheel (*cakra*) represents the sun in various ceremonies; and it appears in Hindu mythology as one of the weapons of the solar deity Viṣṇu. A piece of gold, sometimes in the form of a disk, also indicates the sun on certain ritual occasions. A symbol must have been used by the phallus worshippers (*śiśṇādevāḥ*), who are mentioned with repugnance in the Rigveda. In the post-Vedic period the phallus or *liṅga* became typical of Śiva's generative power, and its worship is widely diffused in India at the present day.

#### 5. DEMONS.

a. The demons which are often mentioned in the Vedas are of two kinds. The higher and more powerful class, the aerial foes of the gods, are generally called Asuras in the Atharvaveda and later. This word, however, rarely means 'demon' in the Rigveda, where it usually preserves the older sense of 'being of mysterious power,' and denotes a god (*ahura* in the Avesta). The earlier notion of the conflict between a single god and a single demon, as exemplified by Indra and Vṛtra in the Rigveda, gradually made way for that of the hostility of gods and demons as two opposing hosts. This is the regular view of the Brāhmaṇas. Here the Asuras, no less than the gods, are regarded as the offspring of Prajāpati; here, too, the Asuras often vanquish the gods at the outset, being finally worsted only by artifice.

In the Rigveda the terms *dāsa* and *dasyu*, properly the name of the dark aborigines overcome by the conquering Aryans, are frequently used also to designate aerial demons, adversaries of the gods. A group of demons are the *Paṇis* ('nigarders'), primarily the foes of Indra, who with the aid of Saramā tracks and releases the cows hidden by them.

Of individual demons, by far the most frequently mentioned is Vṛtra, the 'encompasser,' the formidable opponent of Indra. His mother being called Dānu, he is also sometimes alluded to by the metonymic term *Dānava* (which later becomes the name of a class of demons). Another powerful demon is *Vala*, the personified cave of the cows, which he guards, and which are set free by Indra and his allies, notably the Angirases. Other demon adversaries of Indra are *Arbuda*, described as a wily beast, whose cows Indra drove out; *Viśvarūpa*, son of Tvaṣṭr, a three-headed demon slain by both Trita and Indra, who seize his cows;

and *Svarbhānu*, who eclipses the sun (his successor in Hindu mythology being Rāhu). There are several other individual demons, generally described as *Dāsas*, and slain by Indra in favour of protégés: such are *Suṣṇa*, *Sambara*, *Pipru*, *Namuci*, *Dhuni*, and *Cumuri*, besides some half dozen others who were originally, in all likelihood, terrestrial foes.

b. The second or lower class of demons are terrestrial goblins, enemies of men, as Asuras are of gods. By far the most common generic name for them is *Rakṣas*. They are nearly always mentioned in connexion with some god who destroys them. The much less common term *yātu* or *yātudhāna* (primarily 'sorcerer') alternates with *rakṣas*, and perhaps denotes a species. Terrestrial demons appear in the shape of various animals or birds, having also the power to assume human forms in order to deceive. With human shape they often combine some monstrous deformity; they are even described as blue, yellow, or green in colour; they are male and female, have families, and are mortal. Greedy for flesh and blood, they attack men by entering into them, thus causing disease and madness. As they prowl about at night, and the sacrifice is the main object of their malignity, Agni is naturally the god oftenest opposed to them, and most frequently invoked to burn, ward off, or destroy them. An important group of goblins, scarcely alluded to in the Rigveda but often mentioned in the later Vedas, are the *Pīśācas*, eaters of raw flesh or of corpses. Besides some other groups of goblins of lesser importance, there were included in Vedic belief many other hostile agencies, such as those of disease, which it was one of the main tasks of magic to counteract. Only a few among the groups of terrestrial spirits were thought to be, after the manner of elves, helpful to men, as in harvest work, or in battle by terrifying the foe.

#### 6. RELIGIOUS PRACTICE.

a. The cult of the Vedic Indian has three aspects. It endeavours, in the first place, to win the favour of the gods, who are almost without exception benevolent. It further aims at warding off the hostility of the demons, who are malevolent, here having recourse to practices which for the most part are not of a religious, but of a magical character. Lastly, its attitude towards ancestors is a combination of its treatment of gods and of demons; for, while ancestors receive worship as divine beings, means are taken to prevent them from unduly prolonging their uncanny presence among the living.

b. The worship of the gods has two sides, finding expression either by word or by act. Praise of their greatness and power, or prayer for welfare and forgiveness of sin is addressed to them on the one hand; sacrifice consisting of food and drink is offered on the other. Prayer and praise, which include frequent invitations to the sacrifice, are largely metrical in form, entirely so in the Rigveda. Prayer in the Vedas is almost entirely of the ritual type, intended to accompany a ceremony, or at least to form part of a liturgy. In the creative age of the Rigveda new prayers were produced for ritual purposes; but in the age of the later Vedas, with the development of a system which foresaw almost every desire and prescribed the offering to ensure its fulfilment, prayer was nothing more than the mechanical application of ready-made formulas. It is doubtful whether, even in the earliest period, much room was left, owing to the highly ritual type of the worship, for independent prayer. The latter could hardly in any case have gone beyond the expression of a concrete desire addressed to a particular



deity; it could certainly not have had the character of a communion of the worshipper with divine powers. Prayer was, however, by no means necessarily accompanied by a ceremonial act. Thus the hymns of the Rigveda addressed to Uṣas were recited without any attendant offerings; the same was the case, according to the ritual texts, with the prayers to Agni, Uṣas, and the Aśvins in the morning litany of the Soma sacrifice, as well as with the daily invocations muttered at the morning and evening twilight devotions.

As the hymns of the Rigveda, in addressing prayers to a god, aim at securing his goodwill, they are, in the first place and to a large extent, panegyrics which praise the greatness and power, the mysterious nature, and the exploits of the deity in question. The petition for the gifts hoped for, when the favour of the god has thus been won, is then briefly added. The benefits desired are almost entirely of a material, not of a moral, kind. They are mainly expressed by such general terms as treasures and blessings, protection and victory; when stated in detail they consist in long life and vigorous offspring, cattle and horses, cars and gold; or the punishment of enemies, niggards, and Brāhman-haters by their goods being taken away and bestowed on the pious. Rarely does the worshipper pray that his thoughts may be righteous, that he may refrain from doing what displeases the gods, that he may be reconciled to an offended deity, or delivered from the bonds of guilt; and his supplications lack the note of passionate appeal, deep aspiration, mental struggle, or humble submission to the divine will. As regards its efficacy, prayer was held to be scarcely less potent than sacrifice in gladdening and stimulating the gods. But a hymn had to be composed with faultless art, 'as a skilful workman constructs a car'; it had to be freed from imperfections 'as grain is winnowed with the flail.' Then it invigorated the god like draughts of Soma, stimulating him to new deeds; then it increased the mighty strength of Indra so that he slew the dragon. When prayer is thus thought, even in the Rigveda, to exercise the direct influence of a spell, magic is already beginning to encroach on the domain of religion. A similar tendency is observable in regard to the sacrifice which accompanied the prayers to the gods.

c. The general character of the Vedic sacrifice is essentially supplicatory, as it aims only at the obtaining of future benefits to be bestowed by the gods, and is not concerned with the past. What seem to be expiatory sacrifices are in reality of this order also, for they are accompanied by supplications that the guilt incurred should not be punished. Such expiatory sacrifices are of two kinds. They are either intended to mollify the wrath of a god aroused by the transgression of his divine will, being generally offered to Varuna, the guardian of moral order and punisher of sin; or they aim at removing guilt as a kind of impalpable substance much as if it were a disease, producing this result either by the aid of a god, especially Agni, or by means of fire, water, medicinal plants and spells, which are supposed to burn, wash, purge, or drive it away without the invocation of divine powers. This latter type belongs mainly to the sphere of the Atharvaveda, where magic supplants religious practice. Even a sacrifice made in fulfilment of a vow, after a god has granted a boon, is in reality only a supplicatory offering postponed, as when in the Atharvaveda Agni is promised an offering in the name of a lunatic, if the latter recovers his reason; or when, in the Brāhmaṇa story of Śunahśepa, the childless king vows, if a son is

born to him, to sacrifice that son to Varuna. Thank-offerings in any true sense are unknown to the Vedic cult, the very verb 'to thank' not being found in the vocabulary of the language. An approach to the notion of a thank-offering is only to be found in a Sūtra passage, in which certain sacrifices are prescribed on a man regaining his health.

The conception of the effect of sacrifice which prevails in the Rigveda is that the offering wins the favour of a god and induces him to fulfil the accompanying prayer. The Soma offering satisfies, gladdens, strengthens the god, who loves the sacrificer and hates the niggard. The reward that follows is a voluntary act of the god, resulting from the benevolent attitude induced by the offering. It is not regarded as the repayment of a debt, though the sacrificer feels that the god cannot well help requiting him. While conscious of being in the presence of a mighty being, the sacrificer does not look on himself as infinitely far removed from the god, who is his old friend, and whose right hand he grasps. Even in the Rigveda, however, traces are already to be found of the notion that the sacrifice exercises compulsion not only over gods, but also over natural phenomena without requiring the co-operation of the gods. Here again we have the intrusion of magic into the domain of religion. In the ritual of the Brāhmaṇas we find that the latter has already been largely supplanted by the former.

d. The Vedic ceremonial was essentially based on the use of a sacrificial fire, 'the mouth of the gods,' into which the offerings were cast, and by which they were conveyed to the gods. Exceptionally only, fire was not the instrument of sacrifice. Thus the oblations to aquatic deities were cast into water, those to the dead were placed in small pits at the funeral sacrifice, while offerings to Rudra and demons were thrown into the air, hung on trees, buried, or disposed of in other ways. In the ritual there was beside the sacrificial fire a litter of grass (*barhis*), the soft seat on which the gods sat down to enjoy the offering. On this litter, according to the ritual texts, the oblations were deposited for a time, before being committed to the flames which conveyed them to heaven. Thus the gods were conceived as partaking of the sacrifice both on the litter and in their celestial abode. Agni is even invoked, in one and the same passage of the Rigveda, to bring the gods to the sacrifice and to take it to them in heaven (vii. 11. 5). This contradiction is doubtless to be explained by the survival of the litter in the ceremonial, from the time when offerings were presented on it alone. The burning of the litter at the end of the rite may perhaps originally have formed the transition to offering sacrifices in fire.

In the Vedic ceremonial, even of the earliest period, we have to distinguish between the simpler ritual of the single domestic fire and the more complicated and technical ritual conducted with the three fires, which are independent of the former, though they may originally have arisen by its division. The single domestic fire was maintained by every head of a family, who performed the rites connected with it himself. The three fires were set up only by men of position and wealth, becoming a centre round which the sacrificial activity of many Brāhmins and priests revolved. Certain regular rites, such as the daily morning and evening sacrifice or the new and full moon ceremonies, were performed in essentially the same manner with the three fires as with the one, the ritual of the latter, however, being simpler. But the domestic rites were conducted with the one only, while the Soma sacrifice could be carried on with the three only. The chief of

the three fires, called Gārhapatya (doubtless representing the old domestic fire of the hearth), was the only one always maintained, the other two being taken from it for every sacrifice requiring their employment. It was used for the practical purposes of heating the vessels and preparing the offerings. The second, the Ahavaniya, situated to the east, was that in which the gods received their offerings. The third or Dakṣina fire, placed in the south, the quarter specially connected with the souls of the dead and evil spirits, was used for offerings relating to those two classes of uncanny beings. About this fire and the pits dug around it, the ritual of the sacrifices to the manes chiefly moved.

When a fire was established for purposes of the cult, it was either produced by means of the fire-sticks (called *araṇis*, and consisting of a lower slab of soft and a drill of hard wood) or fetched from certain places, as the house of a rich owner of herds or of a great sacrificer. At the four-monthly sacrifices offered at the beginning of the seasons and at the Soma sacrifice, a new fire was rubbed and united with the old Ahavaniya, doubtless with the intention of giving it new vigour.

e. With regard to the material of the sacrifice, the Vedic Indian, as a general principle, offered to the gods what was his own favourite food. It comprised the chief produce of the dairy and of agriculture: milk, in its various forms, and butter, together with the two principal kinds of grain, barley and rice (the latter, perhaps, not being used in the earliest period), cooked or baked in different ways. Among these, the products of the cow were unmistakably believed to have a more sacred and mystical import. In the cult of the dead, libations of water were characteristic. As beef and goats' flesh, less frequently mutton, were the principal kinds of meat eaten, cattle, goats, and sheep were the usual victims in the animal sacrifice, the he-goat, it would seem, being regularly offered on all lesser occasions. On the other hand, animals the flesh of which was either not eaten at all or only exceptionally eaten, such as the pig, dog, deer, as well as fish and birds, were not sacrificed to the gods. It is true that, in the rare and costly horse-sacrifice, an animal was offered the flesh of which was never a regular article of diet. This is, however, to be accounted for by the intrusion of magic into the domain of sacrifice; for the intention underlying the ceremony was to transfer the swift power (*vāyā*) of the horse to the royal sacrificer. This sacrifice was, indeed, akin to a peculiar tendency in the sacrificial ceremonial, to offer to a god what corresponded to his special individuality. Thus to the goddesses Night and Morning was offered the milk of a black cow having a white calf. In the animal sacrifice, a victim was often chosen which agreed with the deity not only in sex, but in colour and other qualities. The starting-point of this practice was probably the notion that the eater acquires the qualities of the animal he eats, and that his strength is increased most by eating the flesh of the animal most like himself. Thus the mighty Indra, who is constantly called a bull in the R̥gveda, commonly receives the sacrifice of a bull, as also of a buffalo, to which he is often compared. The sun-god Sūrya has a white he-goat offered to him.

The victim was killed by strangulation, and without bloodshed. With an evident desire of avoiding blood-guiltiness, it was addressed with such verses as 'Thou dost not die; no harm is done thee; thou goest to the gods by pleasant paths.' The ceremonial dealing with the disposal of the carcass was divided into two distinct sacrificial acts. In the first place, after an incision had been made, the caul (omentum) was extracted,

being thereupon cooked and solemnly offered to the gods. This rite was concluded by the distribution of presents to priests and by purifications. The second act of the ceremonial consisted in cutting up the carcass into parts, certain sections of which were offered to the gods, while others were eaten by the priests. What remained was distributed among sacrificers, priests, and Brāhmanas. A magical rather than a religious notion underlies the practice of men eating the remnants of the sacrifice of which the god has first partaken; for those remnants must have been regarded as of the nature of a medicine, which transfers to man the divine blessing connected with the sacrifice, or the particular power implied in the individual offering. The separate sacrifice of the caul was perhaps a relic of a time when that was the only portion of the victim which, owing to its agreeable odour, was presented as a burnt-offering to the gods. The blood of the victim was, in the Vedic ritual, not eaten, but was poured out as an offering to the Rakṣases or lower demons, who were regarded as fond of blood, and who similarly received the offal of the grain used in making baked offerings. Analogously, offerings made to beings thought to have an uncanny nature, such as Rudra or the souls of the dead, were not partaken of by the sacrificer. Thus a bull offered to Rudra might not be eaten or even brought into the village; and funeral cakes presented to the manes might only be smelt.

In connexion with the animal sacrifice, the interesting question as to whether the human sacrifice was known in the ritual of the Vedas suggests itself. The only certain trace of such a sacrifice is to be found in the important ceremony of building the brick fire-altar (called *agni-cayana*). Here it is prescribed that five victims—man, horse, ox, ram, he-goat—are to be sacrificed to different gods, and their five heads walled up in the lowest layer of the edifice. The object of this ceremony, which was a magical rite rather than an actual sacrifice, was to give stability to the altar. It is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as the custom of a not very remote past, for which other rites had been substituted. The human sacrifice (*puruṣa-medha*), which the ritual books describe in detail, was probably only an innovation invented to imitate the horse-sacrifice. But of any actual human sacrifice there is no certain trace in Vedic India. Neither the evidence of ancient stories, like that of Śunahṣepa, nor the evidence of various Buddhist legends, is by any means conclusive.

Not only were food and drink presented to the gods to satisfy their hunger and thirst, but an intoxicant, of which the sacrificer also partook, was offered to them. This was the juice of the Soma plant, which was pressed, mixed with milk or other ingredients, and presented to the gods. Soma was certainly not the popular drink of the Vedic Indian, whose favourite intoxicant was called *surā*. How, then, is it to be accounted for that, in this case, he did not offer to the gods what he liked best himself? The explanation is that, having during the Indo-Iranian period been adopted in the cult instead of the earlier mead of the Indo-European age, it retained, by the force of tradition, its old-established position even in the Vedic cult.

Occasionally we find that objects which do not constitute food are sacrificed. Thus a man who desires the possession of deadly weapons sacrifices iron nails. Here again we see the intrusion of witchcraft; the sacrifice becoming a means of obtaining something analogous to the objects offered.

f. Priests.—Vedic India was already far removed from that primitive condition of things in which every man was his own priest, and did not require

the services of persons possessing technical knowledge as intermediaries between him and the divine powers. On the contrary, it is certain that, even in the period of the Rigveda, there already existed a priestly class qualified by special knowledge and magical qualities to act for others in the difficult and dangerous intercourse of man with gods and spirits. There were, indeed, already a number of sacerdotal families, like the Vasiṣṭhas and Viśvāmitras, in which the art of praying and sacrificing correctly was practised as a hereditary calling, all of them employing the same cult, notably that of the Soma sacrifice, practically in the same way. There were no public priests; for there was no public worship of a national, tribal, or even congregational character. Vedic worship was of an essentially private type, sacrifice being performed on behalf of its individual institutor (*yajamāna*) by the priests who acted for him and whose prayers belonged to him. This, coupled with the fact that idols were not used, accounts for the absence of temples in Vedic India.

Two sacerdotal types have to be distinguished in the Vedic cult: the domestic priest (*purohita*), whose function it was to superintend the worship of his employer; and the officiating priest (*ṛtvij*), who had to play a certain prescribed part in an individual sacrifice.

The *Purohita* was generally in the service of kings only, though Brāhmanas occasionally appeared in an analogous capacity in the houses of men of high position. That the employment of a *Purohita* in a royal household was considered essential is indicated by a Brāhmaṇa passage which states that the gods would not eat the food of a king who had no *Purohita*. The domestic priest was appointed by the king, and held his office for life, being often succeeded by his son. In the ceremony accompanying the appointment, the same verse was employed as when the bridegroom takes the hand of the bride in the wedding rite. The *Purohita* was, in fact, the king's right hand man, giving the directions for all the royal ceremonies and sacrifices. Even in the Rigveda the whole prosperity of the country is said to depend on the *Purohita*, 'the guardian of the realm,' and the *Purohita* Devāpi at the sacrifice employs a spell to procure rain on behalf of his royal master, while in the Atharvaveda another *Purohita* uses spells to secure victory in battle.

Of the sacrificial priests there were several, with definite functions and technical names, the chief being the *Hotṛ* or 'invoker,' the *Udgātṛ* or 'chanter,' the *Adhvaryu* or officiating 'sacrificer,' and the Brāhman or superintending priest; in the period of the Rigveda the *Hotṛ* was the most important, later the Brāhman became so. The *Purohita* was probably not any one of these, though he might be employed to perform the functions of one of them; in the earlier period he sometimes appears acting as *Hotṛ*, in the later as Brāhman. Thus in the Rigveda the *Purohita* Devāpi is chosen as a *Hotṛ*, and Agni is called both a *Purohita* and a *Hotṛ*.

The Rigveda contains a list of seven kinds of sacrificial priests, and this was probably the regular number, not only then but in the Indo-Iranian period. Seven priests still appear in various parts of the sacrificial ceremonial in later times, though, with the development of the ritual, additional ones were otherwise employed. The Avesta, which has eight sacrificial priests, probably added one to the original number. It is, in any case, a striking fact that the Zaothr, the leading priest who recites the Gāthās in the Iranian Haoma sacrifice, corresponds, in both name and function, to the *Hotṛ* who recites the verses of the Rigveda in the Vedic Soma sacrifice. The most important of these seven Vedic priests were

the *Hotṛ* and the *Adhvaryu*. It was the duty of the former to recite the hymn which, in the chief libations of the Soma sacrifice, celebrated a particular god and invited him to drink Soma. When the hymns of the Rigveda were composed, their seers (*ṛṣis*) themselves doubtless played the part of the *Hotṛ* at the sacrifice; and that the latter was, in the earlier period, regarded as the leading priest is clear from his furnishing the type for Agni, the priest god. The *Adhvaryu* performed the practical part of the ceremonial, tending the fire and the litter, arranging and cleaning the utensils, pressing and offering the Soma. The remaining five acted as assistants to one or other of the two chief priests. The Agnidh, or 'fire-kindler,' helped the *Adhvaryu* in tending the sacrificial fire. The *Upavaktr* or 'exhorter' (known also as *Praśāstr*, 'director,' or *Maitravaruna*, 'priest of Mitra and Varuna'), whose duty it was to give various orders to other priests, plays the part, in the animal sacrifice, of the only assistant, and in the Soma sacrifice, of one among the several assistants of the *Hotṛ*. The three other priests of the ancient list belong to the Soma ritual exclusively: the *Potr*, or 'purifier,' and the *Nestr*, or 'leader,' became quite unimportant in the later Vedas, while the main function of the Brāhman was to recite hymns addressed to Indra, in the same way as the *Hotṛ*, whose assistant he was. In the later ritual this priest came to be called Brāhmaṇācchapsin, while the old name, Brāhman, acquired the technical sense of the priest who superintended the whole sacrifice, and whose duty it was to know the three Vedas.

**g. Sacrifices.**—The Vedic cult consisted of regularly recurrent or of occasional sacrifices. Our knowledge of the former is derived from the ritual literature, for there are only few and obscure traces of them in the hymns of the Rigveda, which is almost exclusively concerned with the Soma sacrifice. It is, however, probable that they were performed, at least in their main features, during the earliest Vedic period. These regular sacrifices are of three kinds, as connected with the course of the day, the month, and the year, being performed, respectively, twice a day, twice a month, and three times a year. Each of the first two kinds could be conducted, though without any difference in ceremonial form, either with the single domestic fire or with the three sacrificial fires. On the other hand, the annual sacrifices, which were celebrated at the commencement of the three seasons, required the greater ritual of the three fires. It was a general characteristic of all periodic sacrifices that they were never addressed to one single god.

The daily rites took place morning and evening. They consisted, on the one hand, of fire-offerings to the gods, and, on the other, of gifts of food presented to all beings. The latter comprised offerings placed on the threshold and elsewhere for the deities and spirits in and around the house; a libation to the souls of the dead in the southern quarter; food scattered for dogs and birds; and meat and drink given to needy human beings.

The monthly sacrifices, which were celebrated at new and full moon, consisted of cooked oblations or of cakes offered to the gods. Among the numerous deities receiving them, the most prominent was Indra.

The seasonal sacrifices were offered every four months, at the beginning of spring, of the rains, and of the cool weather. Throughout these the Maruts are the most prominent deities. In the ceremonial which inaugurates the rainy season, *Karira* fruits are offered with a view to procuring rain and consequent plenty. Then also two figures of dough covered with wool, and intended to represent a ram and a ewe, are sacrificed in order to

promote the increase of flocks. In these two offerings the influence of magical notions is clearly observable. With the seasonal celebration of the rains was combined a great expiatory sacrifice with which Varuṇa was specially associated.

In the ceremonial of the third or autumn sacrifice was included an offering to Rudra Tryambaka, intended to avert his attacks from the flocks and to conciliate his healing power. At a place where four roads meet, the abode of uncanny beings, a flat cake was deposited on or buried in a molehill, to indicate that it was presented to the mole as the animal of Rudra, who would thus refrain from injuring other animals. With this ceremonial was combined a great sacrifice to the dead, a kind of All Souls' festival.

We now turn to the extraordinary sacrifices, which are not limited to any fixed period. One of these is the independent form of the animal sacrifice. According to the ritual texts, it should take place annually; but the statements as to the time of year it should be performed are fluctuating and indefinite. Another form of the animal sacrifice is included in the Soma sacrifice.

Of all forms of cult the Soma sacrifice appears as the most important in Vedic literature. It was, however, probably not so important in actual life, as few could have possessed means sufficient for its performance. As compared with the recurrent sacrifices, it rather bore the character of an extraordinary act of liberality practised by the rich towards gods and priests. Though the time for its performance was not definitely fixed, later texts recommend the spring as the most suitable period. Soma was not offered to different gods according to circumstances, like a cooked oblation or an animal victim. On the contrary, it was offered, within the stereotyped scheme of the three pressings of Soma made at morning, noon, and evening, in honour of a prescribed series of gods intended to include all deities except perhaps Rudra. In this ceremonial the important gods were all addressed by name, the lesser ones being included in the comprehensive term *Viśve devāḥ*, or 'all-gods.' The Soma sacrifice, in fact, constituted a general carouse for gods as well as for priests. Indra was, however, the most important deity and the central figure of the whole ceremony; thus the Soma pressed at midday belonged to him alone in addition to his share of the morning and evening libation. The ceremonies of the Soma sacrifice were of a complex nature. Even the simplest and fundamental form of it, the Agnistoma ('praise of Agni'), required the ministrations of sixteen priests. This rite occupied only one day; other Soma sacrifices lasted for several days, up to twelve; while another class, called *sattras* or 'sessions,' sometimes extended to a year. These prolonged Soma sessions formed an unimportant exception to the rule that every sacrifice was performed for a single individual; for here a number of Brāhmins combined in such a way that each, while officiating as a priest in the usual manner, was accounted a sacrificer (*yajamāna*). The texts which deal with the Soma sacrifice furnish sufficient details for a complete picture of its ceremonies, which in the main were doubtless the same in the period of the Rigveda. Numbers of priests and lay spectators thronged the sacrificial ground, on which burned the three fires strewn around with sacrificial grass. Between the fires was the *vedi*, an oblong shallow excavation somewhat narrowed in the middle and covered with a litter of grass for the reception of the offerings to the gods. Scattered about were to be seen sheds, posts for tying up victims, the seats and fire-altars of the various priests, vessels containing water for various purposes, pressing implements, tubs, and bowls for

Soma. Among them moved about the officiating priests and their assistants, in whose midst were to be seen the sacrificer (*yajamāna*) and his wife, emaciated by initiatory asceticism. The priests were engaged in preparing or offering the sacrificial cakes and the libations of milk; in sacrificing eleven he-goats to various gods; in pressing, purifying, mixing the Soma juice; in pouring it into or out of various vessels, presenting it to the gods, or drinking their share. All these operations were accompanied by the calls, recitations, chants of the priests as they carried out the details of the ritual, which were far too numerous to indicate here.

The Soma sacrifice was preceded by a protracted ceremony of initiation (*dikṣā*), which was undergone by the sacrificer and his wife, and was followed by another of purification (*avabhṛtha*). Both of these ceremonies were probably known to the Rigveda. The *Dikṣā* belongs to the ancient type of magical rites which were intended as a preparation for intercourse with gods and spirits by producing an ecstatic condition. It consisted in seclusion and various forms of asceticism (*tapas*) ending in physical exhaustion. Fasting was a chief element in the preparation for this as well as other rites. A preliminary bath was taken, as in the wedding ceremony, for the removal of injurious substances which would nullify the effects of the initiation. On the other hand, no bath might be taken during the course of the Soma sacrifice, for it would have been regarded as washing off the sanctity communicated by the *Dikṣā*. As in the funeral and some other rites, the hair and beard were cut off and the nails pared, because they were considered impurities.

In the ceremony called *avabhṛtha* ('carrying down' to the water), with which the Soma sacrifice terminated, the black antelope skin and the sacred cord used by the sacrificer and his wife since the beginning of the *Dikṣā* were thrown into the water along with the Soma shoots which had been pressed out and the sacrificial utensils which had been in contact with the Soma. Finally, the sacrificer and his wife, as well as the priests, descended into the water to wash off the supernatural powers which they had acquired, and on emerging put on fresh garments. The offerings and texts which accompanied the *Avabhṛtha* ceremony were chiefly addressed to Varuṇa, the god who delivers from guilt.

h. Rites of family life.—As the Vedic wedding ceremony had in its main features probably come down from the Indo-European period, it retained much that belongs to the domain of witchcraft rather than that of religion. Thus the act, on the part of the bridegroom, of taking the hand of the bride, was intended to place her in the power of her husband. The seven steps which the young couple took and the food which they ate together were meant to establish friendship and community. Future abundance and male offspring were aimed at when the bride, after being conducted to her husband's house, was placed on the hide of a red bull and took upon her lap the son of a woman who had borne only living male children. The worship of the gods, on the other hand, was somewhat in the background during this ceremony. It was chiefly concerned with Agni, the god most closely connected with domestic life. Thus the husband led his bride three times round the newly-kindled nuptial fire, which it was the duty of the couple to maintain henceforth throughout their lives as their domestic fire. The invocations addressed to the gods were mostly of the nature of benedictions. The long wedding hymn from the Rigveda was also recited. Various offerings, moreover, were made, especially one of parched grain strewn by the bride with hollowed hands.

After sunset the husband led his bride out of the house, and, as he pointed to the pole-star and the star Arundhati, the young couple exhorted each other to be constant and undivided for ever. The wedding was followed by three nights of conjugal abstinence, meant doubtless to exhaust the patience and divert the attacks of hostile demons.

Similarly, in the rites performed both before and after birth for the welfare of children, the magical aspect predominated over the sacrificial. Thus a powdered drug was dusted into the nostrils of a pregnant woman to ensure the sex of her offspring being male; and unripe fruits of the Udumbara tree were attached to her in order to communicate to her child the exuberant maturity which that fig attains.

On the tenth day after birth, when the period of impurity was over, the ceremony of giving the child his name was performed. In the third year the rite of tonsure, accompanied by an oblation, took place. The boy's hair was cut and arranged so as to be worn in accordance with the custom of the family. The hair which was cut off was buried. A similar ceremony was performed when the beard of the youth at the age of sixteen was shaved.

But by far the most important rite connected with boyhood was that of initiation or 'introduction' (*upanayana*) to a religious teacher, which took place at the respective ages of eight, eleven, and twelve in the case of boys of the first three castes. Standing at the sacred fire, the preceptor invested the boy, whose head had been shaved, with a girdle, which he wound round his waist three times from left to right, at the same time pronouncing certain formulas. He then grasped the boy's hand and, placing his own on the pupil's heart, recited a verse indicating that he had assumed power over the boy's will. On this occasion the youth also received a garment, a staff, and a sacred cord to be worn over one shoulder and under the other arm. During the whole course of his subsequent apprenticeship, the religious pupil (*brahmacārīn*) was required to practise chastity, to refrain from certain kinds of food, to tend his preceptor's fire with fuel, and to beg food in the village. But his chief duty was to study the Veda and to learn the famous Sāvitrī stanza from the R̥gveda as an introduction to that study. By the rite of initiation, which was regarded as a spiritual birth, the pupil had become one of the 'twice-born,' qualified to eat the remnants of sacrificial offerings. Though this ceremony is not even alluded to in the R̥gveda, it must have been known at that time, for it can be traced back to a still earlier age. The evidence of the Avesta shows that among the ancient Persians a youth of fifteen was received into the community of Zoroaster with a sacred cord; and among primitive peoples similar rites have been found all over the earth to symbolize reception into the community of men as an entry into a new life. This ancient rite was in India transformed into a spiritual ceremony which gave admission to the community of those qualified for the study of sacred knowledge.

The period of apprenticeship was terminated by the ceremony called *samāvartana*, or 'return,' the main element of which was a bath intended to indicate symbolically that the quality of religious studentship (*brahmacarya*) was washed off.

The funeral rites, finally, belong to the sphere of the domestic ritual; it will, however, be more convenient to deal with them later as part of the ceremonial relating to death and the future life.

i. Rites relating to public life.—Even in ceremonies which assumed a public character because connected with the person of the king, the sacrifice

was still instituted by him as an individual; and though prayers for the country and the people might be incidental to it, there existed no form of sacrifice which was offered in the name of the tribe or the nation. In the royal ceremonial, magical practices were, as we found to be the case in the domestic ritual, more prominent than sacrificial acts. The first of these celebrations calling for description are the consecration (*abhiseka*) of the king and the royal inauguration (*rājasūya*). Neither of these is mentioned in the R̥gveda, and they were probably developed in the later Vedic period; but the magical elements which they contain are most likely very old. Both these celebrations included Soma rites. In the consecration ceremony the king was seated on a chair covered with a tiger skin and made of the wood of the Udumbara, the tree which to the Indian was typical of plenty. A cup, also made of Udumbara wood, was filled with a fluid compounded of butter, honey, rain-water, and other ingredients. With this fluid the king was anointed or rather besprinkled. In the Rājasūya a similar besprinkling took place; but it was followed by a series of further rites intended to secure success of all kinds. These included a symbolical raid on a herd of cows; the discharge of arrows at feeble relatives of the king, who were plundered; and a game of dice in which a cow was the stake, and which was won by the king.

Another ceremonial, regarded as still more dignified and efficacious, was the Vājapeya ('draught of vigour'), a kind of Soma sacrifice, which might be performed not only by kings, but even by men of royal descent or of the Brāhman caste. Its most characteristic feature was a chariot race, evidently a magical rite intended to secure for the sacrificer the swift power embodied in the horse. It also included a rite called the 'ascent of the post' (*yūparohana*). A wheel made of wheaten flour, and symbolical of the sun, was placed on the top of a sacrificial post. Mounting by means of a ladder, the sacrificer grasped the wheel as he uttered the formula, 'We have reached the sun, ye gods.' On descending to the ground he seated himself on a wooden throne and was besprinkled as in the inauguration ceremony. This part of the Vājapeya rite aimed at the attainment of exalted position.

The splendour of royal ceremonial, however, culminated in the horse-sacrifice (*aśva-medha*). It was not a thank-offering, as might at first sight be inferred from the words of the Brāhmaṇa description of each king who performed it, 'He victoriously traversed the earth and offered the horse-sacrifice.' It was in reality a supplicatory sacrifice offered, after military successes, for the fulfilment of the king's highest wishes in the future. According to the ritual texts, this sacrifice is addressed to the gods in the aggregate, but with special reference to Prajāpati (an evidently late trait); but there are indications that it may originally have been addressed to Indra the Vṛtr-slayer, an obvious god to associate with a rite which is a glorification of military heroism. The horse itself represents swift vigour, a quality which the king aims at obtaining and increasing in himself by means of this sacrifice. The ceremony was begun by bathing the horse, when a four-eyed dog (that is, one with two spots above its eyes) was killed with a club by a man of low origin. The horse, having been consecrated, was allowed to roam about free for a year, guarded by a retinue of armed youths. During the interval the sacrificial ground was the scene of various offerings and rites, while stories were recited, chants sung, and lutes played. High and low, young and old, took a share in the pomp of the ceremonial. At



length, when the year had come to an end, the horse was sacrificed during the course of a Soma offering of three days' duration. In the later Vedic ritual the horse is accompanied by a number of other victims; but in the R̥gveda (two hymns of which are concerned with the horse-sacrifice) mention is made only of Pūṣan's he-goat, which announces the offering to the gods. Before the carcass was cut up, the chief consort of the king lay down beside the dead horse, while obscene conversations were carried on between the priests and the women of the royal household. Before the cauld was offered, the priests propounded and solved riddles among themselves, as they had already done at a previous stage of the ceremonial. The whole rite concluded with a purifying bath at the end of the third day.

#### 7. DEATH AND FUTURE LIFE.

A. *BELIEFS*.—a. The soul, variously called *asu*, 'spirit,' *manas*, 'mind,' *ātman*, 'breath,' *prāṇa*, 'respiration,' was thought to be separable from the body during unconsciousness, and to continue its existence after the body had been destroyed by cremation or burial. But, though imperishable, it was not believed to prolong life as a mere spirit or shadow, but to retain its personal identity in a corporeal state; for the body, purified by the power of Agni and freed from all imperfections, shares in the existence of the other world. The doctrine of transmigration is not to be found in the Vedas; its beginnings are met with in the Brāhmaṇas, where the notion of repeated births and deaths in the next world appears; but it shows itself fully developed even in the oldest Upaniṣads, and must have been generally accepted by 600 B.C., since Buddha would not otherwise have received it into his system without question.

The spirit of the deceased proceeds upward through the air on the path trodden by the fathers (*pitara*) to the realm of eternal light. It is natural that Agni, who burns the corpse, should have been regarded as the conductor of the soul on its journey. Arrived in heaven, where he recovers his former body in a complete and glorified form, the departed meets the fathers who revel with Yama, and receives from the latter a resting-place. According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the dead, on leaving this world, make their way between two fires, which burn the wicked but allow the good to pass. The latter proceed either by the path which leads to the fathers or by that which leads to the sun. The Upaniṣads also hold that there are two paths for the good: by the one, those who possess complete knowledge of the world-soul go to Brahman; by the other, those whose knowledge is imperfect reach the world of heaven, whence, after the fruit of good works has been exhausted, they return to earth to be born again. On the other hand, those who are ignorant of the self go to the dark world of evil spirits, or are reborn on earth. To illustrate the mystery of the future life, the Kāṭha Upaniṣad tells the myth of Naciketas, who, on visiting the realm of death, is informed that those who have not enough merit for heaven and immortality fall again and again into the power of death and, entering upon the cycle of existence (*samsāra*), are born repeatedly with a body or as a stationary object; that he who controls himself reaches Viṣṇu's highest place; but that there is no hell for the unworthy.

b. *Heaven*.—The abode of the fathers and Yama is situated in the highest or third heaven, where is eternal light. It is also described as the highest point of the sun or the highest step of Viṣṇu. Here is a tree in the shade of which Yama drinks with the gods. In the Atharvaveda it is

stated to be a fig-tree (*aśvattha*). Heaven is believed to be the reward of the righteous, of heroes who risk their lives in battle, of those who practise rigorous penance, and, above all, of those who bestow liberal sacrificial gifts. The Atharvaveda is full of references to the bliss in store for the latter.

The deceased, on entering heaven, see again father and mother, wives and children. Sickness is left behind; bodily imperfections or frailties are unknown; and old age cannot prevail. There are neither rich nor poor, neither oppressors nor oppressed. The life of the blest is passed among the gods, more especially in the presence of the two kings Yama and Varuṇa. Here the sound of the lute and of songs is heard; streams of Soma, *ghī*, milk, honey, and wine flow; and there is spirit-food and satiety. Bright, many-coloured cows, which yield all desires, are at hand. The life in heaven is thus one of indolent material bliss, devoted to sensual joys. In the Upaniṣads the life in the heaven of the gods, being followed by re-birth, is a lower and transient form of bliss; only those who know the truth reach the higher stage, the condition of changeless joy and unending peace which results from absorption in the world-soul.

c. The blest who dwell in the third heaven are called *pitrs* or 'fathers.' By these are generally meant early ancestors who made the paths by which those who have recently died join them. Different races of them are distinguished (p. 608), the Āngirases being more especially associated with Yama. The fathers are also spoken of as lower, higher, and middle; as later and earlier; all being known to Agni, but a few only to their descendants. The fathers are fond of Soma, feasting with the gods and leading the same life as they do. Being immortal, they are even spoken of as gods. Great cosmical actions, like those of the gods, are sometimes attributed to them; thus they are said to have adorned the sky with stars, and to have placed darkness in the night and light in the day. As the burning of the corpse was in no sense a sacrifice, the corpse-devouring Agni was distinguished from the Agni who wafts the offering to the gods; and, similarly, the path of the fathers from that of the gods. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa goes further, discriminating between the heavenly world (*svarga loka*), that is, the world of the gods, and that of the fathers (*pitṛ-loka*). The fathers are prayed to like the gods, being entreated to hear and to protect their worshippers, and to refrain from punishing their descendants for any sin humanly committed against them. They are also besought to give riches, offspring, and long life to their sons; individual ancestors being sometimes invoked by name. Coming to the sacrifice on the same car as Indra and the other gods, they drink the pressed Soma as they sit on the litter of grass to the south (the quarter of the dead). They arrive in thousands and range themselves in order on the sacrificial ground. They receive oblations, which are, however, different from those offered to the gods.

d. The chief of the fathers is Yama, to whom three hymns of the R̥gveda are addressed. He is only spoken of as a king who rules the dead, but it is implied that he is a god as well. He is, as is natural, specially associated with Agni, the conductor of the dead. Yama is the son of Vivasvat and of Saranyū, Tvastṛ's daughter. He was a mortal, who chose death and abandoned his body. Finding out the path for many, he passed to the other world, whither the ancient fathers have gone. Having been the first of mortals that died, he is called 'our father.' As a mythological creation, Yama goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, corresponding to Yima, son of Vivahvant,

in the Avesta. The most probable conclusion to be drawn from the available evidence seems to be that Yama represents the chief of the souls of the departed, as having been the first father of mankind and the first of those that died. This conclusion is supported by the fact that in the Avesta Yama is the ruler of an earthly paradise. It is, perhaps, also borne out by the appearance of Yama and his sister Yami in the character of twins in a hymn of the Rigveda, where the very repudiation of their incest points to the existence of a belief in the descent of mankind from primeval twins. Some scholars have, however, identified Yama with various phenomena of nature, such as Agni, the sun, or the moon. In the Rigveda Yama's foot-fetter (*padbīṣa*) is referred to as parallel to the bond of Varuna, and his messengers that seek the lives of men must have inspired feelings of dread. It is not till the Atharvaveda and the later mythology that Yama becomes more closely associated with the terrors of death, and assumes the character of a regular god of death; though even in the epic his domain is not limited to hell.

The owl and the pigeon occasionally appear as Yama's emissaries; but his regular messengers are two dogs, described as four-eyed, broad-nosed, brindled, brown, sons of Saramā. They guard the path to the other world or wander about among men, keeping watch on them; and they are besought to grant continued enjoyment of the light of the sun. Their functions seem to have been thought to consist partly in tracking out among men those who are to die, and partly in keeping guard on the path over those who are about to enter the realm of Yama. The conception of a watch-dog of the dead goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, as shown by the evidence of the Avesta, where a four-eyed hound is stated to keep guard at the head of the bridge which leads to the other world. If the epithet *śabalas* ('brindled') is identical with the Greek *κέρβερος*, the notion of a dog of death must go back even to the Indo-European age.

e. Hell.—As the virtuous, in the opinion of the Vedic seers, were rewarded in the future life, it is natural to suppose that they believed in some kind of abode for the wicked. The evidence of the Rigveda cannot, however, be said to go beyond showing that this was regarded as an underground darkness. But there can be no doubt that the belief in a regular hell exists in the Atharvaveda, which speaks of the house below, of black and lowest darkness, the abode of goblins and sorceresses, called *nāraka loka* as contrasted with *svarga loka*, the heavenly world of Yama. The torments suffered in this infernal region are also once described. It is not, however, till the period of the Brāhmaṇas that the notion of future punishment appears fully developed. Thus the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa states that every one is born again after death and, being weighed in a balance, receives reward or punishment according to his deserts. Nothing is said in the Vedas of a final judgment or of a destruction and renovation of the world.

B. THE CEREMONIAL.—a. Funeral rites.—Cremation was the normal method of disposing of the dead in Vedic times. That burial was also practised to some extent is undoubted, though the ritual books have no rules regarding it, except in so far as the bones of the cremated are interred. The predilection of the Vedic theologians for the god of fire was most probably the reason for incineration having already become the almost universal practice among the Aryans in India. The beard and hair of the dead man were cut off and his nails trimmed; his body was anointed, decked with a garland, and dressed in

a new garment, which he was intended to wear in the next world. The corpse was then carried or driven to the burning ground; a bundle of twigs was tied to it, in order to efface the footsteps and so prevent death from making its way back to the living. The dead man was then exhorted, with verses from a funeral hymn of the Rigveda, to go by the ancient paths, past the two dogs of Yama, to the fathers. The widow, who had mounted the pyre and lain down beside the corpse, was now called upon to rise and take the hand of her new spouse (her husband's brother). That the ceremonial excluded the burning of the widow is undoubted; but the ritual act which was required to recall her to life shows that her ascent of the pyre was symbolical of the actual immolation of bygone times. Indeed, it must be assumed that this ancient custom, though not sanctioned by the Vedic ritual, survived through the Vedic period in the families of military chiefs. Having by their example gradually spread to other classes, it became, in later times, a universal practice throughout India. If the deceased was a warrior, his bow was taken from his hand, an indication that at one time it was burned with him; if he was a sacrificer, his combustible utensils were placed with him on the pyre. Here we have a survival of the ancient custom of providing the dead with the chief articles of their property for use in the next life. At the same time as the corpse was burned, a cow and a he-goat were sacrificed. These animals, however, did not represent property, but were intended as a means of deflecting the consuming power of fire to them as substitutes for the corpse; and, by a fiction, Agni was supposed not to burn the dead man, but to send him 'done' to the fathers.

The mourners, on returning from the burning ground, bathed, changed their clothes, and refrained from looking round. On entering the house of the deceased, they touched purifying or auspicious objects such as water, fire, or cow-dung; and finally removed the sacrificial fire of the dead man by some aperture other than the door.

A death was followed by a period of impurity, varying from three days to ten, according to the degree of kinship. As the return of the soul was feared during this time, the surviving relatives took constant precautions to avoid infection. Thus only food which was bought or presented by others was eaten, evidently to guard against introducing anything tainted into the system.

Generally on the third day, what remained of the bones of the cremated man was collected, placed in an urn, and temporarily buried, to the accompaniment of the Rigvedic verse, 'Approach thy Mother Earth.' During this ceremony the deceased was no longer thought of as in the realm of Yama, but as actually present. This inconsistency is no doubt due to a primitive belief surviving beside the more recent conception of life in the heavenly world.

Last of all—according to the Brāhmaṇas, after the lapse of years—a burial mound was erected, the bones being exhumed for the purpose of removal to a suitable spot. During the following night music was performed, cymbals being beaten and the lute (*viṇā*) played, the female mourners repeatedly going round the bones with their left hands towards them. On the following morning, the bones were taken to a place, out of sight of the village, where the ground was free from thorns but permeated with roots. A hole or furrow having been made, the bones were deposited and a mound of stone and earth was erected over them. Grain was scattered on the mound as food, while milk and water were poured into small pits dug around it, as drink for the deceased. When the mourners returned, various precautions were taken to pre-

vent death from following the living; thus a stone or a clod was deposited as a boundary. The Rigveda refers, in a funeral hymn, to the erection of a stone to divide the living from the dead.

Though the Vedic Indian retained many primitive beliefs in the ceremonial concerned with the future life, he had advanced far beyond the terrors which inspire the funeral rites of the savage. The verses which he employed in that ceremonial, while combined with much petty ritual and betraying much zealous care for his own well-being, at the same time reflect trust in the gods, as guardians of the dead, and filial piety towards ancestors. If we find here no traces of deep feeling and genuine sorrow, this is largely due to the fact that the impersonal formulas contained in the ritual textbooks are the only available evidence for this period.

**b. Spirits.**—The most striking contradiction in the Vedic view of the future life was the belief, though the Rigveda describes the deceased as conveyed direct to the fathers by the funeral fire, that the dead man did not join the fathers at once, but continued to lead a separate existence near the living for a year. The soul in this intermediate stage was distinguished by the name of *preta*, 'departed spirit,' as opposed to the ancestral spirits fully recognized as *pitara*, 'fathers.' During this transitional state it did not receive the regular monthly oblation to the manes of the sacrificer, but was honoured individually with separate offerings. At the end of the period it was received into the community of the fathers with a special ceremony which, strange to say, has nothing to do with that accompanying the final burial of the bones. Vedic literature has nothing to say about ghosts in any other sense than that of Pretas. There is, however, a passage in the Yajurveda stating that one who sheds the blood of a Brāhman will be excluded from the world of the fathers; and the evidence of early Buddhist texts may perhaps justify the inference that, even in the Vedic period, there was a belief in ghosts as spirits in the exceptional state of suffering torments on earth in punishment of guilt.

**c. Ancestor-worship.**—It remains only to sketch briefly the cult of the Vedas in so far as it was concerned with the dead. The regular sacrifice to ancestors, offered to father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, was celebrated every month at new moon. It was called *śrāddha* or 'offering given with faith' (*śrāddhā*). For the purposes of this rite, a space was marked off in the south-east, the region which was sacred to the manes, and which the performers faced during the whole ceremony. Then the sacrificial fire was fetched and the food for the dead, consisting mainly of rice, but also of other offerings, prepared. Three small pits, a span long and four fingers broad and deep, having been dug and bestrewn with Darbha grass, an odd number of Brāhmins were seated, entertained, and received gifts. Libations to Soma associated with the fathers, and to Agni, conductor of the sacrifices to the dead, were also offered. A firebrand having been placed beside the pits to drive away demons who might have intruded themselves among the fathers, the latter were summoned to the offering and invoked to bestow wealth on their descendants. Jars of water were then set down beside the pits; the sacrificer took one with his left hand and, pouring water into the pits, mentioned the name of the ancestor to whom the offering was made. Grasping the sacrificial ladle also with his left hand, he placed one-third of the food in the form of a cake in each pit, invoking the fathers to partake of the offering. In conclusion, pieces of cloth were presented to the ancestors as clothing. The whole ceremony was interspersed with verses addressed to the fathers.

Our knowledge of this ceremonial is entirely derived from the ritual works of the Vedic period. There is nothing about it in the Rigveda, as it is not accompanied by hymns to the mighty gods with whom that Veda is concerned. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that, in its essential features, it already existed in the earliest Vedic age; for its general character is extremely primitive: there is no trace of the souls of the dead abiding in heaven; the gifts offered to them are not sent up by the sacrificial fire, but are placed in the earth; and the spirit waits in or on the earth to be fed and clothed. The only details which probably do not go back to the times of the Rigveda are the offerings to Soma and Agni, as well as the presence of Brāhmins.

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A. A. MACDONELL.

**VEGETARIANISM.**—In this article an attempt is made to confine the discussion to those portions of the subject which ultimately have a practical bearing, even though the way may lie through the investigation of some rather complex ethical principles. The omission of all investigation into the history of vegetarianism is dictated not only by fidelity to this aim, but also by the consideration that in this particular subject no sound inferences as to modern problems can possibly be drawn from any records of the past. It is, e.g., interesting to learn that the poet Ovid wrote in favour of a vegetable diet as being natural to primitive man. But what we want to know is how far his words were effective. They may have been, and yet no one has recorded the effect; or they may have been dictated at first by dismay at the sight of great excess in flesh food. They are anyhow by themselves no evidence of vegetarian practice; and, if they were, we should be unable to connect it securely with the gradual decline of Rome. In short, at all times the important question has been, not the practice of an exceptional minority, but that of the mass of the population—just the large complex fact which has never been recorded.

That omission leaves two principal aspects of the question to be considered: (a) the physiological argument, which is treated as of subordinate importance, owing to the evidence to be gathered from facts being still very incomplete; and (b) the ethical argument, including our duty to the lower animals, the bearing of the example of Christ, and the question how far a non-flesh diet is a help to the higher life.

**1. The physiological argument.**—In several treatises on vegetarianism much has been written on the physiological effects of a flesh or non-flesh diet, but very little of any value. The truth is that before any scientific conclusion can be arrived at—in other words, before any broad inference can be drawn from experiments—the question must be so far simplified that it becomes abstract: that is to say, experiments have to be conducted under conditions which do not obtain in ordinary life.